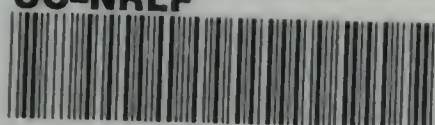


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A GRAMMAR
OF THE
DIALECT OF OLDHAM
(LANCASHIRE).

89D
S 334

DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER DOKTORWÜRDE

BEI DER

PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT
DER GROSSHERZOGLICH HESSISCHEN LUDWIGS-UNIVERSITÄT
ZU GIESSEN

EINGEREICHT VON

KARL G. SCHILLING

AUS ALTRINCHAM (ENGLAND).



DARMSTADT.

G. OTTO'S HOF-BUCHDRUCKEREI.

1906.

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Referent: Dr. H o r n.

P r e f a c e.

It is intended in the present work to add one more to the list of scientific grammars of English Dialects. The general scheme is the same as that followed by Professor Wright in his Grammar of the Windhill Dialect except that I have, like Hargreaves in his Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington, made Middle English and not Old English the starting point of my investigations. — It is to Professor Horn of Giessen that I am indebted for the idea of writing the grammar as also for his advice and suggestions on every occasion. — I also take this opportunity to thank Mr. Dronsfield of Oldham for his valuable help in the way of practical information concerning the folk-speech of which he is such an admirable exponent.

As the English Dialect Grammar of Dr. J. Wright did not appear until the autumn of 1905, when my grammar was already completed, I was unable to make use of it.

List of Works consulted with Abbreviations used.

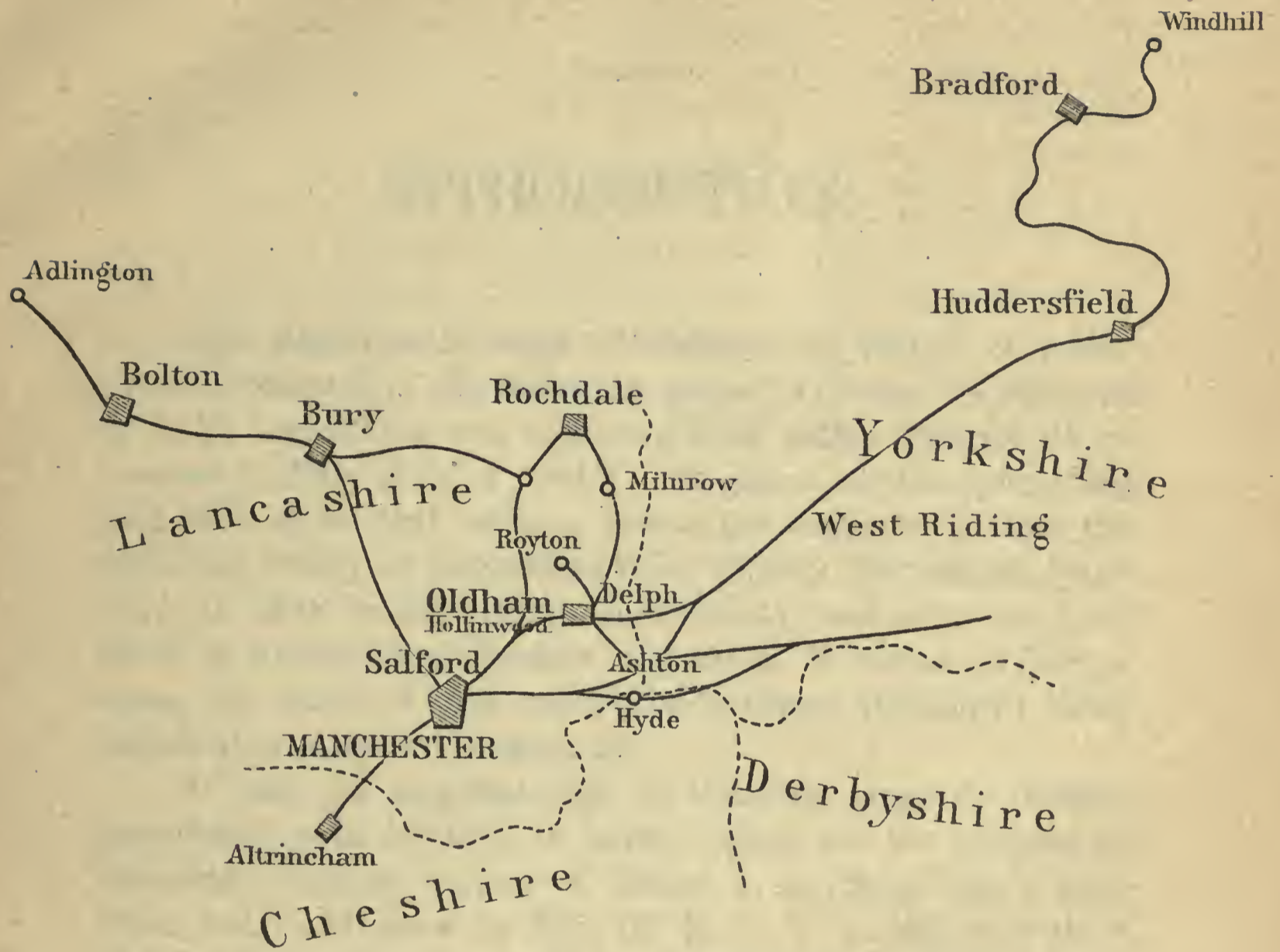
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Other Abbreviations.

AFr.	= Anglo-French (Norman-French).
Fr.	= French.
Germ.	= Germanic.
L. (Lat.)	= Latin.
lit.	= literary.
LME.	= Late Middle English.
ME.	= Middle English.
NE.	= New (Literary) English.
OD.	= Oldham Dialect.
OE.	= Old English.
OFr.	= Old French.

Misprints.

pp. 89 & 102, read *fornit(š)ər* = furniture.



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INTRODUCTION.

The Municipal Borough of Oldham, the dialect of which I have attempted in the following pages to discuss, is situated in S. E. Lancashire and therefore falls within District 21 as marked in Ellis' E. E. P., vol V. A glance at the preceding map will show that only a few miles separate it from the adjoining county of Yorkshire (West Riding) the nearest large town in that county being Huddersfield, nor is it far from the N. E. extremity of Cheshire and the N. W. corner of Derbyshire, the strip of land round Staleybridge (Cheshire) being included by Ellis in District 21.

It may be objected that a town so large as Oldham (population over 100,000) is hardly suited for the purpose of showing a distinct variety of dialect in anything like a pure state, but a reference to Ellis (E. E. P., V. p. 322) will show that he has already referred to Oldham as possessing a particular form of speech distinct from the other towns in the immediate neighbourhood.

To say, of course, that the dialect of Oldham is pure would be as untrue as it would be of any other dialect still spoken in Great Britain, but certain causes have worked and are still working which have great influence in preserving the popular speech from too rapid decay. The vast and sudden increase of the population consequent upon the spread of the cotton manufacture at the beginning of last century was certainly a cause for alarm to the lovers of the ancient folk-speech of Lancashire, and it was thought at the time that it would never hold its own against such an invasion

of foreign elements, but though a large number of new words were introduced they did not succeed in ousting the native forms, rather the reverse, the foreigners learnt the speech of the natives and became assimilated with them in every way, a process which is still going on in the case of all fresh settlers at the present day. — For this there are particular reasons which I will try to make clear. For the entire district of S. E. Lancashire there is practically only one staple industry, namely that of cotton spinning. Other manufactures are carried on, it is true, but the vast majority of the population is employed in the cotton mills. Moreover not only is male but female labour employed, the cotton operatives are recruited indiscriminately from both sexes. This is very important for the preservation of the dialect, for not only are the male members of the family constantly hearing and speaking the vernacular, but the mothers of the present and future generations also, and no impressions, whether linguistic or otherwise, are so difficult to eradicate as those received in infancy. Add to this that not only are all the foremen in the mills local men who have been bred and born among the dialect-speaking population, but even the wealthy mill-owners are, as often as not, men who have risen from the ranks and, in every case almost, born in the locality and using the dialect as their habitual medium of conversation. The older generation indeed not only habitually address their hands in the dialect but even speak it among themselves unless strangers are present.

It might be supposed, however, that the spread of education would make itself felt to the detriment of the folk-speech. The younger generation can most of them express themselves in literary English if they choose i. e. at the time at which they leave school to go to the mill, but as they are allowed to work as half-timers between the ages of 12 and 14 (i. e. to spend half the day, either the morning or the afternoon, during these two years in the mill) after which they hear hardly anything but dialect at work and in the home, we cannot wonder at the slow progress made by the literary language in the cotton district.

The present generation of young men and women in Oldham as well as the other manufacturing towns in Lancashire are, it is true, becoming gradually more reticent in the use of the popular speech in the presence of strangers; any attempt, however, to "talk fine", as speaking literary English is called, among themselves is greeted by the older hands as a mark of snobbishness.

Moreover, side by side with this recent gradual extension of the literary language, we have an undercurrent of conservatism in the form of Literary Clubs and Societies whose object it is to preserve the Folk-speech in its pristine vigour. The efforts of these societies are aided by the magnificent library of really first-class dialect literature at their disposal from which to select pieces for public readings or recitals and thus to keep alive the love of the old speech among the people. — Indeed I think I may say without fear of contradiction that there is hardly any corner of Europe which has produced in comparatively recent years such a phalanx of poetry and prose writers in the dialect as S. E. Lancashire. So great, indeed, is the fame of some of them (Edwin Waugh and Ben Brierley for instance) that their works are not only read and enjoyed in their native county but in other parts of England sufficiently remote from the cotton district.

There is yet another factor which tends to preserve the dialects of S. E. Lancashire and that is the exclusiveness of the people. This exclusiveness not only extends to the natives of other counties (notably Yorkshire), but, to a less degree, to all strangers not belonging to the same town and village. A man from Oldham will be laughed at in Hollinwood (even tho' the distance between the two places is less than a mile and a continuous street connects them), for the use of certain forms peculiar to his own dialect (*nobat* [Oldham] *nobə* [Hollinwood] = only [not but]). The same thing is noticeable in Oldham or Rochdale people away from home. They cling together whenever possible and should they come across a fellow-townsmen in their travels they hail him with as much effusion as one Frenchman would hail another in a foreign country.

Despite this tenacious clinging to the folk-speech, however, the dialect is undergoing a gradual change more especially in the matter of vocabulary. A mere glance at the very full glossary of South Lancashire words edited by Mr F. E. Taylor (Manchester, 1901) will prove this at once. Mr Taylor has marked the obsolete words with an asterisk and many words so marked are still to be found in the writings of Brierley and Waugh, the latter being barely 50 years old. There are, however, other changes taking place of more vital importance. These affect both vocabulary and phonology. With regard to the former must be mentioned more especially the gradual filtering in of Yorkshire forms, more particularly from the West Riding, as might be expected owing to its proximity to Oldham. Such words I have carefully noted in their proper places. The vocabulary has been, however, much more strongly influenced by the neighbouring Lancashire towns of Rochdale (9 miles from Oldham) and Ashton (about 3 miles away). Among Rochdale words one of the commonest is *wēiš* = "wash" which is found side by side with the Oldham *weš* (*waš*). Among Ashton words is a whole group, namely those ending in the literary language in *-ing* which in the Oldham dialect all appear without a final *ŋ*-sound (e. g. *šilin* = 'shilling' &c), but in Ashton have changed *ŋ* into *ŋk* (e. g. *šilink*).

Between the dialect of Oldham proper and that of the outlying villages which the growing town is gradually absorbing there is, of course, a process of assimilation going on, one or more variants of the same word being often found side by side. Another factor tending to the mixture of the dialects is the spread of dialect literature from one Lancashire town to another. This literature mostly takes the form of little penny books in the vernacular which are eagerly bought and read by the mill-hands. In this manner a large number of Bolton words have found their way into the Rochdale and Oldham dialects despite the fact that Bolton is the centre of a colliery district and that the colliers and the mill-hands have little intercourse in the ordinary way. Perhaps it will cause surprise to those unacquainted with the locality to

hear that despite the proximity of Manchester (the distance between Oldham and Manchester is only 6 miles), the Oldham dialect has been hardly effected at all by the neighbourhood of the great city. The mill-hands employed in the Manchester cotton mills are drawn from a large number of neighbouring cotton towns and form a very unstable part of the population, constantly coming and going.

Moreover the mill-owners of Manchester live far out in the suburbs and do not come into contact with their hands nearly so often as those living in Oldham and the smaller cotton towns, so that one of the chief factors for the preservation of a strong and healthy dialect is missing.

Phonologically the most noticeable recent change is perhaps the new pronunciation of such literary English words as *there*, *where*, *stairs* &c, which should be pronounced in the pure dialect as *ḏiə^r*, *wiə^r*, *stiə^rz* but are now often heard as *də^r*, *wə^r*, *stə^rz*. Mere weak sentence stress will not explain this pronunciation as it is extended to words (such as *stə^rz*) which could hardly be weakly stressed under any circumstances.

There now remains to consider the composition of the vocabulary of the Oldham Dialect from the etymological point of view. Few words will suffice here. The vast majority of the words is, as might be supposed, of English origin. The Scandinavian element is not nearly so important as in the neighbouring dialects of Yorkshire where many Scandinavian forms have survived owing to the long Danish settlement. The Celtic element is a little more noticeable in Lancashire than in Yorkshire but, as in the rest of England proper, forms only a very small item in the vocabulary. The French element consists mostly of such words as are found in Middle English, tho' a few have crept in later under the influence of the literary language.

PART I.

PHONOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

SOUNDS OF THE DIALECT.

I. THE VOWELS.

§ 1. The Oldham Dialect contains the following vowels:

a) Short Vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ʊ*, *ə*.

b) Long Vowels: *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ē̄*.

c) Diphthongs: *ai*, *ēi*, *īə*, *au*, *ūə*, *ɛʊ*.
oi, *ēə*, *oi*, *ōə*, *ui*, *ié*.

A short description of the Oldham Vowels follows. *ɛ* *o* represent the open sounds, *e*, *ə* represent the closed sounds.

a) Short Vowels.

a (mid-back-wide) like *a* in German "Mann", e. g. *lad* = lad, *arə* = arrow, *brast* = burst, *watš* = watch.

e (mid-front-wide) as in standard English *men*, *help* &c., e. g. *neb* = peak of a man's cap, *neš* = tender, *wentš* = a girl.

i (high-front-wide) as in standard English *bit*, e. g. *brid* = brid, *sitš* = such, *sikst* = sixth.

o (mid-back-wide-round) like *o* in the German „Stock“, e. g. *frozn* = frozen, *mony* = many.

u (high-back-wide-round) like in standard English *put*, e. g. *puns* = to kick, *punəʀ* = thunder.

u. This is the same sound as Hargreaves denotes by the symbol. It comes nearer *o* than *u* (cp. Hargreaves p. 4), e. g. *kum* = come, *wus* = worse.

ə (mid-mixed-narrow) as *e* in German „Gäbe“, e. g. *arə* = arrow, *ōləz* = always, *nētđəʀ* = nature.

b) Long Vowels.

ā (mid-back-wide) like *ā* in German “Haar” occurs mostly before *ʀ*, e. g. *ām* = to mock, *āʀk* = chest, *āsk* = a water-newt.

Note: Hargreaves gives this *ā* before *ʀ* the value “ä” and his *ā* as only occurring where we have *ai* in the Oldham Dialect.

ē (mid-front-narrow) as in German “See”, e. g. *fēbʀi* = gooseberry, *gēt* = road, way, *lēik* = to play.

ī (high-front-narrow) like the *i* in German “Biene”, e. g. *drī* = tedious, *grīt* = to cry, *nīt* = night.

ō (low-back-narrow-round) as *aw* in standard English “saw”, e. g. *kōv* = calf, *fōs* = cunning, *ōf* = elf, idiot.

ō) (mid-back-narrow-round) like German “so”, e. g. *bō* = ball, *krōp* = crept, *lōp* = leapt.

ū (high-back-narrow-round) like *u* in German “du”, e. g. *abūn* = above, more than, *brū* = hill, *fū* = fool.

ə (low-back-narrow), e. g. *kəʀsn* = to christen, *wəʀtš* = to work, *jəʀp-bobz* = tufts of heather.

c) Diphthongs

ai = *a* + *ī*. The *i* is high-front-narrow and is long. In the Oldham Dialect there are many words where the vowel sound fluctuates between *ai* and *ai*. In the following the *ai* sound is the more common: *abaid* = to suffer, *flait* = to scold, quarrel, *naifl* = a delicacy, *paik* = to pick, choose.

ei = *e* + *ī*. As above the *i* is high-front-narrow and is long, e. g. *feit* = fight, *fleiš* = flesh, *weiš* (or *weš*) = wash.

īə, e. g. *əfīərt* = afraid, *bīəs* = beasts, *pīərtš* = perch.

au. This sound (or the nearest approximation to it) is represented by Hargreaves as *ou*. He says it is a more open sound than Sweet's *ou* and lies between his *ou* + *au*. In the O. D. it lies distinctly nearer *au*, e. g. *aud* = old, *kaud* = cold, *haud* = hold, *maudiwōrp* = mole.

ūə, e. g. *duə* = door, *əfuə* = before, *muə* = more, *kuət* (*kwot*) = coat.

eu, e. g. *reund* = round, *bēut* = without, *euə* = our, *teun* = town.

Note: In neighbouring dialects this *eu* appears as *ā*.

ēə, e. g. *bēə* = bear, *swēə* = swear.

oi, e. g. *əpoint* = appoint, *loin* = loin, *soil* = soil.

qə, e. g. *bifqə* = before, *fqə* = four.

ui, e. g. *ruin* = ruin, *suit* = suet.

ié. It only occurs in the word *piétə* = theatre.

əi has the same sound as the French *eui* in *feuille*, e. g. *bail* = boil, *wəild* = wild, *tšəild* = child.

II. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 2. The Oldham Dialect contains the following consonants:

b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, p, r, s, š, t, þ, ð, v, w, z, ž.

b (lip-stop-voice). It occurs initially, medially and finally, e. g. *blud* = blood, *abit* = habit, *rub* = rub.

d (gum-stop-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *dautə* = daughter, *medsin* = medicine, *kaud* = cold.

Note: Hargreaves has also a symbol *d̥* to represent the sound of *d* before *r* or in a syllable containing *r*. In the Oldham Dialect this *d̥* is unnecessary, as under the circumstances *d* becomes either *dð* or, more commonly *d*.

f (lip-teeth-open-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *fəind* find, *ofə* = offer, *wəif* = wife.

g (back-stop-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *gam* = fun, *figə* = figure, *leg* = leg.

j (front-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *y* in *you*. It only occurs initially, e. g. *jalə* = yellow, *jit* = yet.

Note: The glide sound of *j* mentioned by Hargreaves as occurring occasionally in the Adlington Dialect is not found in

the Oldham Dialect *k* (back-stop-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *kaud* = cold, *akə^r* = acre, *tak* = take.

l (gum-side-voice) resembling a German *l* more than a London English one. It occurs in all positions, but is syllabic only in unaccented syllables, e. g. *levl* = level, *luv* = love, *milk* = milk, *kil* = kill. Of these the second *l* in *levl* is syllabic.

m (lip-nasal-voice), e. g. *mon* = man, *simpl* = simple, *kum* = come.

n (gum-nasal-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g.: *nīdl* = needle, *untə^r* = hunter, *brazen* = brazen, impertinent. Vocalic *n* occurs in unaccented syllables only (mostly finally), e. g. *brazn* = brazen, *frozn* = frozen, *brokn* = broken.

ŋ (back-nasal-voice). It is only found in the combinations *ŋg* and *ŋk* when it has the same value as lit. Engl. *ng* and *nk* (in Finger), e. g. *siŋg* = sing, *stiŋk* = stink.

p (lip-stop-breath). It occurs initially, medially and finally, e. g. *peund* = pound, *api* = happy, *lomp* = lamp.

r. This sound is described by Hargreaves as gum-open-voice. Initially and medially between vowels it has the same sound as lit. Engl. *r* in the same position; finally, or medially the preceding vowel becomes what is described by Lloyd as "coronal vowel" [cp. Lloyd's "Northern English" § 100 ff.], e. g. *reum* = room, *krīp* = creep, *beri* = berry, *kə^rs* = curse, *swiə^r* = swear. In the last two examples the vowel is "coronal".

s (blade-open-breath) like *s* in lit. Engl. *sit*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *sārtin* = certain, *bēsⁿ* = basin, *šips* = ships.

š (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. *sh* in *shall*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *šadə* = shadow, *bušl* = bushel, *fīš* = fish

t (gum-stop-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *teun* = town, *batl* = battle, *fəit* = fight.

Note: Hargreaves has also a symbol *ṭ* but like his *ḍ* it is not necessary in the Oldham dialect being perfectly well represented either by *tā* or *p*.

þ (teeth-open-breath) like *th* in lit. Engl. *thick*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *þunər* = thunder, *elþi* = healthy, *meuþ* = mouth.

ð (teeth-open-voice) like *th* in lit. Engl. *this*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *ðis* = this, *faðin* = farthing, *brīð* = breathe.

v (lip-teeth-open voice) like the *v* in lit. Eng. *vane*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *veri* = very, *waivz* (*waivz*) = wives, *luv* = love.

w (lip-back-open-voice) like Engl. *w* in *water*. It occurs initially and medially, e. g. *wain* = wine, *wīš* = wish, *əwēⁱ* = away.

z (blade-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *z* in *freeze*. It is rare initially, commoner medially and finally, e. g. *zeundz!* = zounds!, *jezi* = easy, *tšīz* = cheese.

ž (blade-point-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *s* in *pleasure*. It mostly occurs in combination with *d* as *dž*, e. g. *džain* = join, *indžin* = engine, *edž* = edge.

Note: Hargreaves has also a sound *z* (p. 7) but in the Oldham Dialect it is indistinguishable from final *z*.

THE SOUNDS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

CHAPTER II.

THE VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

SECTION I.

THE VOWELS CONSIDERED SINGLY.

SHORT VOWELS.

a.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 3.

1. ME. *a* appears in the Oldham Dialect as *a*.

a) From OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*:

1) From OE. *a*:

ME.	OD.	NE.
ankel	<i>aŋkel</i>	ankle
arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
ax(e)	<i>aks</i>	axe
bannen	<i>ban</i>	to curse
castél	<i>kastl</i>	castle
crabbe	<i>krab</i>	crab
krakien	<i>krak</i>	a gossiping conversa- tion
fan	<i>fan</i>	fan
gamen	<i>gam</i>	game.

2) From OE. *æ*:

ME.	OD.	NE.
akern	<i>atšærn</i>	acorn
after	<i>afðær</i>	after
bath	<i>baþ</i>	bath
blak	<i>blak</i>	black
bras	<i>bras</i>	brass, money
barst, brast	<i>brast</i>	burst
bac	<i>bak</i>	back
cappe	<i>kap</i>	cap
daft	<i>daft</i>	silly
fast	<i>fast</i>	fast
hat	<i>at</i>	hat

ME.	OD.	NE.
lappe	<i>lap</i>	lap (sb)
masse	<i>mas</i>	mass
mast	<i>mast</i>	mast
rafter	<i>rafðar</i>	rafter

3) From OE. *ea*:

galwes	<i>galæsis</i>	braces
narowe	<i>nuræ</i>	narrow
narwe		

b) ME. *a* from OE. *ā*:

ascen,	<i>ax</i>	to ask
axen		
attercoppe	<i>atðar krop</i>	spider
(y)clad	<i>klad</i>	clad
lammasse	<i>lamæs</i>	lammas

ME.	OD.	NE.
-----	-----	-----

c) ME. *a* from OE. *æ*:

ani	<i>ani</i>	any
fat(t)	<i>fat</i>	fat
laddre	<i>ladðar</i>	ladder
laste	<i>last</i>	last (sb)
mad	<i>mad</i>	mad

d) ME. *a* from OE. *ēa*:

chapman	<i>tšap</i>	chap
	<i>tšapmon</i>	a purchaser
chaffare	<i>tšafar</i>	to haggle
laþer	<i>laðar</i>	lather
	<i>(loðar)</i>	

B. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. *a* from. Scandinavian *a* (o):

farand	<i>farant(li)</i>	hand-somely
gabbe	<i>gab</i>	impudence
gad	<i>gad</i>	loiter
haplice	<i>aplinz</i>	haply

cratchinge	<i>kratšinz</i>	refuse of melted lead
cang	<i>kaŋk</i> (<i>koŋk</i>)	a gossiping conversation
clacke	<i>klak</i>	chatter
ragge	<i>rag</i>	rag

C. Celtic Sources.

ME. *a* from Celtic *a*:

brat	<i>brat</i>	coarse apron
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cammid	<i>kamd</i>	cross-tempered
ladde	<i>lad</i>	lad
lasse	<i>las</i>	lass.

D. French Sources.

ME. *a* < French *a* (*ā*).

a) French *a* in open syllables unaccented in O. F.

banere	<i>banar</i>	banner
barel	<i>barel</i>	barrel
bataille	<i>bat(e)l</i>	battle
carry	<i>kari</i>	kari
damage	<i>damidž</i>	damage
favour	<i>favar</i>	to resemble

gallon	<i>galən</i>	gallon
parische	<i>pariš</i>	parish
valeie	<i>vali</i>	valley
value		value

b) French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables unaccented in O. F.

cacchen	<i>katš</i>	catch
champion	<i>tšampjən</i> <i>tšompjən</i>	champion

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
fasoun	<i>fašn</i>	fashion	mantel	<i>mantl</i>	} mantle
lanterne	<i>lanþærn</i>	lantern	passion	<i>pašn</i>	

E. Uncertain Sources.

dab	<i>dab</i>	a blow	bađen	<i>baþ</i>	bathe
crank	<i>kraŋki</i>	{ mentally deranged	brasen	<i>brazn</i>	impudent
band	<i>bant</i>		hasel	<i>hazl</i>	hazel
		string.	maken	<i>mak</i>	make
			schame	<i>šam</i>	shame
			taken	<i>tak</i>	take
			waken	<i>waken</i>	waken
			favour	<i>favær</i>	to resemble
			labo(u)r	<i>labær</i>	labour
			naperōn	<i>apærn</i>	apron
			paper	<i>papær</i>	paper.

Note: OE. and OFr. *a* (*æ*, *ea*) have not been lengthened in the following:

aker	<i>akær</i>	acre
babi	<i>babi</i>	babi
baken	<i>bak</i>	bake

2. Development in Combination.

§ 4.

1) ME. *a* + (NE.) final *l* = *ō*.

al	<i>ō</i>	all
al + rēdi	<i>ōredi</i>	already
alweies	<i>ōlez</i>	always
bal	<i>bō</i>	ball
callen	<i>kō</i>	call
fallen	<i>fō</i>	fall
smal	<i>smō</i>	small.

Note: The above also occur with *ō*.

2) *a* + *l* before *f*, *m*, *k*, *s*, *t* = *ō*.

alf	<i>ōf</i>	elf
calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf
half	<i>ōv</i> (<i>ōf</i>) ¹	half.
halm	<i>(h)ōm</i>	handle of an axe
palm	<i>pōm</i>	palm

balk	<i>bōk</i>	a log of timber
calke	<i>kōkærz</i>	turned down por- tions of a horseshoe
talk-en	<i>tōk</i>	talk
fals	<i>fōs</i>	sly. cunning
faltren	<i>fōtær</i>	to falter
halter	<i>(h)ōtær</i>	halter
malt	<i>mōt</i>	malt
salt	<i>sōt</i>	salt
walten	<i>wōt</i>	to upset.

3) ME. *a* (*o*) before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* = *o* except when *w* precedes.

bank	<i>bonk</i>	bank
cang	<i>konk</i>	a gossiping conversa- tion

¹ The Rochdale form *ēf* is also heard, cp also Hargreaves, p. 26, 30, and Horn, Untersuchungen p. 18.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cann	<i>kon</i>	can
conny	<i>koni</i>	brave, fine
candel	<i>kondel</i>	candle
chance (chaunce)	<i>tsons</i>	chance
gander	<i>gonər</i> (<i>gondər</i>)	gander
grand	<i>gron(d)</i>	grand
grant (graunt)	<i>gront</i>	grant
hamme	<i>om</i>	ham
hamer	<i>omər</i>	hammer
hamme + schaklin	<i>omšakl</i>	to hinder
hand	<i>ond (ont)</i>	hand
man	<i>mon</i>	man
mani	<i>moni</i>	many
planke	<i>plonk</i>	plank
ram	<i>rom</i>	ram
ranc	<i>ronk</i>	rank
spannen	<i>spon</i>	span
standen	<i>stond</i>	stand
trampelen	<i>trompl</i>	trample.

4) ME *a* + *š* = *aiš*.

dasshe	<i>duiš</i>	dash
lasshe	<i>laiš</i>	lash
paschen	<i>paiš</i>	to pour down
rasshe	<i>raiš</i>	rash

ME.	OD.	NE.
slaschen	<i>slaiš</i>	slash
?	<i>smaiš</i> ¹⁾	smash
wasshe	<i>waiš</i> (<i>weš</i>) ²⁾	wash.

Note: ME. *asche* (pl. *asches*) has not become *aiš* as might be expected, but *es*.

5) ME. *a* + final *r* = *ər*.

dar	<i>dər</i>	dare
far	<i>fər</i>	far
gar-en	<i>gər</i>	to force, compel
war(re)	<i>wər</i>	worse.

Note 1: *w* + ME. *a* = *wa* except before *l* + consonant.

swan	<i>swan</i>	swan
wace	<i>waken</i>	waken
wacche	<i>watš</i>	watch
war	<i>war</i>	war
warm	<i>war^m</i>	warm.

Note 2: ME. *a* + final *s* has sometimes become *ā*, but only in certain words e. g. *dlās* = glass, *lās* = lass, *ās* = ass. But these words are also found with *ā*.

¹ Skeat "Etymological Dictionary" derives this word from a doubtful Swedish Dialect word *smacke*.

² The Rochdale form *weiš* (ex ME. *wesschen*?) is also found.



e.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 5.

ME. *e* (from OE. *e*, *eo*) mostly appears as *e* in the Oldham Dialect.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
			fremede	<i>frem</i>	not akim
			helfe	<i>elv</i>	handle of a spade
	<i>beldār</i>	} to cry out	kempe	<i>kempi</i>	a man fond of fighting
	<i>belder</i>				
betere	<i>betdār</i>	better	lêke	<i>lek</i>	to leak
clemmen	<i>klem</i>	to starve	leng(er)	<i>lengār</i>	longer
delf	<i>delf</i>	a stone quarry	neb	<i>neb</i>	peak of a man's cap
delfen	<i>delv.</i>	to dig	nesshe	<i>neš</i>	tender, delicate
O. E. edisc	<i>ediš</i>	} second crop of meadow grass	weft	<i>weft</i>	anything woven
	<i>editš</i>				
O. E. exen	<i>exen</i>	oxen	welden	<i>weld</i>	to wield
ellerne	} <i>eller</i>	alder-tree	wellen	<i>wel</i>	to boil
ellarne			wenchel	<i>wentš</i>	a girl.

B. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. <i>e</i> = Scandinavian <i>e</i> :			eggen	<i>eg-on</i>	to incite
degen	<i>dek</i>	} to sprinkle	felawe	<i>feli</i>	fellow
	<i>deg</i>		helder	<i>eldār</i>	} rather.
		to cut off		<i>eldār</i>	

C. French Sources.

a) ME. <i>e</i> = French <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> <i>ẽ</i> (accented):			fente	<i>fent</i>	{ remnant of cloth minder (in a mill).
ar(r)este	<i>arest</i>	arrest	tenten	<i>tenter</i>	
comence	<i>komens</i>	commence	b) ME. <i>e</i> = French <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> <i>ẽ</i> (se- condary accent):		
defenden	<i>difend</i>	defend			
effect	<i>ifekt</i>	effect	aventure	<i>ventdər</i>	venture
excepcioun	<i>eksepšan</i>	exception	beverage	<i>bebridz</i>	beverage
election	<i>lekšan</i>	election			

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
medlen mellen merril	} <i>mel</i> <i>meril</i>	to meddle a game	neveu trestel	<i>nevi</i> <i>trest</i>	nephew a large stool

D. Unknown Sources.

elsin	<i>elsin</i>	awl	heter	<i>hetər</i>	keen, eager (of dogs)
fetten (make ready)	} <i>fettle</i>	Sb. condition Vb. to mend	(quick, rough) kebben (to contend)	<i>keb</i>	to lean against
flecked gesc (N. E. D.)		spotted guess	plecke slede snekke tenten	<i>plek</i> <i>sled</i> <i>snek</i> <i>tent</i>	place sledge latch of door stretch.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 6.

1. ME. *e* + *r* = *ēr*,

ər, *ār*.

a) *ēr*:

berme	<i>bēr̃m</i>	barm
cerren	<i>kēr̃n</i>	churn
dernen	<i>dēr̃n</i>	to darn
ernest	<i>jēr̃nest</i> (<i>jār̃nest</i>)	earnest
hert	<i>hēr̃t</i>	heart
hweper	<i>hur̃ər</i>	whether
kerven	<i>kēr̃v</i> (<i>kār̃v</i>)	carve
nerre	<i>nēr̃</i>	nearer.

b) *ər*:

gers	<i>gər̃s</i>	grass
gert	<i>gər̃t</i>	girt
herce	<i>hər̃st</i> <i>jər̃st</i>	hearse
perken	<i>pər̃k</i>	perch
terrible	<i>tər̃abl</i>	terrible.

c) *ār*:

1. English Words.

bere-tun	<i>bār̃ten</i>	barn
derk	<i>dār̃k</i>	blind
ernest	<i>jār̃nest</i> (<i>jēr̃nest</i>)	earnest
herre	<i>hār̃</i>	higher
herke	<i>hār̃k</i>	to listen
ker	<i>kār̃</i>	low-lying marsh
kerven	<i>kār̃v</i> (<i>kēr̃v</i>)	carve
lernen	<i>lār̃n</i>	learn, teach
serke	<i>sār̃k</i>	shirt
sker	<i>skār̃</i>	a rocky place
sterten	<i>stār̃t</i>	start
sterven	<i>stār̃v</i>	starve
		cake of
per̃f	<i>pār̃f</i> (<i>-kēk</i>)	oatmeal, butter and treacle
werk	<i>wār̃k</i>	work (Subst.)
werlde	<i>wār̃ld</i>	world.

2. French Words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
certain	<i>sārtin</i>	certain
concern	<i>konsār̃n</i>	concern
conversen	<i>konvār̃s</i>	converse
converten	<i>konvārt</i>	convert
desert	<i>dizārt</i>	desert
deserven	<i>dizār̃v</i>	deserve
determine	<i>ditār̃min</i>	determine
diversion	<i>divār̃šən</i>	diversion
merci	<i>mār̃si</i>	mercy
merchant(a)	<i>mār̃tšənt</i>	merchant
merveil	<i>mār̃vil</i>	marvel
nerfe	<i>nār̃vz</i>	nerves
preserven	<i>prisār̃v</i>	preserve
serche	<i>sār̃ts</i>	search
sermon	<i>sār̃mən</i>	sermon
serpent	<i>sār̃pənt</i>	serpent
servant	<i>sār̃vənt</i>	servant
serven	<i>sār̃v</i>	serve.

2. ME. *e* sometimes appears as *ēi* before *š*, but this is an im-

portation from the neighbouring dialect of Rochdale, cp. Hargreaves p. 29. 3. a, b.

ME.	OD.	NE.
flesc	<i>flēiš</i> [<i>flaiš</i>]	flesh, meat
nesshe	<i>nēiš</i> [<i>neš</i>]	tender
weschen	<i>wēiš</i> [<i>waiš</i> , <i>weš</i>]	wash

Note: The OE. word “Grendel” of “Beowulf” is still met in the Lancashire Dialects (including Oldham) = a waterdemon to frighten children. It appears in the form Grindy low (grindilau), cp. F. E. Taylor “Folkspeech of S. Lancs” and Nodal and Milner “Glossary of the Lanc. Dialect” p. 169.

i.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 7.

ME. *i* usually appears as *i*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blind	<i>blint</i>	blind
brid	<i>brid</i>	bird
brinnen	<i>brindl</i> (<i>up</i>)	} to fly into a passion
child	<i>tšilt</i> [<i>tšəilt</i>]	
cribbe	<i>krib</i>	pinfold
cwic	<i>wik</i>	alive, lively

ME.	OD.	NE.
drifen	<i>driv</i> [<i>druv</i> , <i>đruv</i>]	driven
finne	<i>finz</i>	fish-bones
gilte	<i>gilt</i>	young
innewarde	<i>inər̃dz</i>	female pig
kist	<i>kist</i>	interior
liggen	<i>lig</i>	parts
likli	<i>likli</i>	chest
		lie down
		likely

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
micel	<i>mitš</i>	much	b) ME. <i>i</i> = OE. <i>y</i> .		
sib	<i>sib</i>	akin	brīgge	<i>bridž</i>	bridge
singen	<i>siŋg</i>	a musical festival	bisi	<i>bizi</i>	busy
sixte	<i>sikst</i>	sixth	chist	<i>tšist</i>	chest
spitel	<i>spitl</i>	a baker's shovel	dine	<i>din</i>	noise
sipen	<i>sin</i>	since	dide	<i>did</i>	did
slinken	<i>sliŋk</i>	diseased meat	kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln
slideren	<i>slidər</i>	slide	kissen	<i>kis</i>	kiss (vb.)
twinling	<i>twindlin</i>	a twin	micele	<i>mikel</i>	size, bulk
pridde	<i>prid</i>	third	miche	<i>mitš</i>	much
wimplen	<i>wimpl</i>	to ripple as a brook	milne	<i>mil</i>	mill
		hay put together	rigge	<i>ridžər</i>	part of harness
windwunge	<i>winrō</i> <i>windrō</i>	before housing	rinele	<i>rindl</i>	a channel
windelstrē	<i>windelstrē</i>	coarse grass	rippen	<i>ripər</i>	a reckless fellow
winter	<i>winpər</i>	winter	OE. pl. ge- scyldru ¹	<i>šildər</i> <i>šildər</i> (<i>šūdər</i>)	shoulder
wiđi	<i>wiđanz</i>	osiers, willows	swich (pinchen)	<i>sitš</i> <i>pink</i>	such think
			trindil	<i>trindl</i>	wheel of a wheel- barrow.

B. Scandinavian Sources.

biggen	<i>big</i>	to build	giglot	<i>giglət</i>	{ a wanton girl
biker	<i>bikər</i>	small wooden tub	impen	<i>imp</i>	
blinken	<i>bliŋkər't</i>	blind of one eye	kippen	<i>kipər</i>	to rob
clinken	<i>kliŋk</i>	a blow	lic-	<i>likər</i>	amorous
dillen	<i>dil</i>	to lull	ling	<i>liŋg</i>	more likely
fisken + gig	<i>fizgig</i>	a flirting girl			{ cut and dried
flinder	{ <i>flindərz</i> <i>flindərz</i> }	fragments	(nigard)	<i>nigl</i>	{ heather
gildre	{ <i>gildərz</i> <i>gilerz</i> }	twisted hair for fishing lines	schift	<i>šift</i>	{ to trifle
griskin	<i>griskin</i>	loin of pork	skift	<i>skift</i>	{ haggle
gimbire	<i>gimər</i>	young female sheep	riften	<i>rift</i>	{ to move,
			riven	<i>rivn</i>	{ remove
			smidde	<i>smidi</i>	to belch
			spink	<i>spiŋk</i>	rent, ill-tempered
					smithy
					chaffinch

¹ Cp. Anglia-Beiblatt XVI, 332.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
tippen	<i>tip, tipl</i>	to upset	wimbil	<i>wimbl</i>	quick, lively
tit	<i>tit(əʳ)</i>	soon(er)	wikir	<i>wikən</i>	{ mountain ash.

C. French Sources.

ME *i* = Fr. *i, ī* (Principal or Secondary Accent).

gilofre	<i>džilivəʳ</i>	gilly-flower
gimelot	<i>gimblət</i>	gimlet
gingebreed	<i>džindž-bred</i>	ginger-bread
nifle	<i>nifl</i>	to be fastidions
pikin	<i>pik</i>	to push sharply
pismire	<i>pisəmūer</i>	ant
pissen +	<i>pis-ə-bed</i>	dandelion

prime + rose	<i>primrōz</i>	primrose
riban	<i>ribin</i>	ribbon
sillable	<i>sinəbl</i>	syllable
simple	<i>simpl</i>	simple, humble
sisoures	<i>sidəʳz</i>	scissors
wisard	<i>wizəʳt</i>	wizard
ficche	<i>fitš</i>	vetch.

ME. *i* > OD. *e*.

sirupe	<i>serap</i>	syrup
spirit	<i>sperit</i>	spirit.

D. ME. *i* from other Teutonic Sources.

chitte	<i>tšit</i>	a pert girl
crinklen	<i>kriŋkl</i>	to crease
drifte	<i>drift</i>	drove of cattle
glistren	<i>glistəʳ</i>	to shine
grippen	<i>gripn</i>	clasped hands

hipping	<i>(h)iping-stūanz</i>	stepping-stones
kitelen	<i>kitl</i>	ticklish
lift	<i>lift</i>	left (opp. of "right")
sissen	<i>siz</i>	to hiss.

E. Uncertain Sources.

crikke	<i>krik</i>	a painful strain
digge	<i>dig</i>	duck
gingelinge	<i>džingəlz</i>	St. Anthony's fire
grig	<i>grig</i>	a cricket
nippe	<i>nip</i>	to snatch
sind	<i>sind</i>	to rince in water
snizen	<i>snidž</i>	to curry favour
tikel	<i>tikal</i>	fastidious

tikelen	<i>tik</i>	to touch
titten	<i>tidəʳ-up</i>	rouse up
twiteren	<i>twitəʳ</i>	to tremble
primlen	<i>primbl</i>	to tremble
pwitel	<i>pwitl</i>	a large knife
wippen +	<i>(h)wip-stāʳt</i>	an upstart
wisk	<i>(h)wisk-telt</i>	wanton
wiđer	<i>widəʳ</i>	strong, lusty.

2. Development in Combination.

§. 8.

1. ME. *i* (ü) before *r* = a) \check{r}
in closed syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bir (bür)	$b\check{r}$	velocity, force
birlen	$b\check{r}l$	to pour out
firre + bobbe	$f\check{r}bobs$	fir-cones
hirte	$\check{r}t$	hurt
hwirl	$w\check{r}(l)$	velocity
mirpren	$m\check{r}d\check{r}$ $m\check{r}\check{d}\check{r}$	murder
pirge	$p\check{r}d\check{z}$	
schirte	$\check{s}\check{r}t$	shirt
stirien	$st\check{r}$	stir
stirke	$st\check{r}k$	{ one-year- old heifer
wirchen	$w\check{r}t\check{s}$	
wirm	$w\check{r}m$	worm.

b) = OD. *er* in open syllables.

birrien	$beri$	bury
miracle	$mer\acute{a}k\acute{a}l$	miracle
mirie	$meri$	merry
spirit	$sperit$	spirit
(wirwen)	$werit$ ($w\acute{e}rit$)	worry.

ME. OD. NE.

c) = OD. $\bar{a}r$ (Rare).

kirnel	$k\bar{a}rn\acute{a}l$	kernel
pirde	$p\bar{a}rd$	third
þirtig	$p\bar{a}rti$	thirty.

2. ME. *i* + *gh* (χ) before
 $t = \bar{i}$.

bright	$br\bar{i}t$	bright
frighten	$fr\bar{i}tn$	frighten
lighten	$l\bar{i}t(\acute{a})nin$	lightning
night	$n\bar{i}t$	night
right	$r\bar{i}t$	right
sight	$s\bar{i}t$	sight.

Note: An apparent exception is formed by the form $f\bar{e}it$ = to fight, but this is probably not derived from ME. *fight*, but *feht*.

3. ME. *i* + \check{s} = $\bar{i}\check{s}$.

disshe	$d\bar{i}\check{s}$	dish
fisch	$f\bar{i}\check{s}$	fish
wisshen	$w\bar{i}\check{s}$	wish.

4. ME. *i* (*y*) = \bar{u} in the following:

firste	$f\bar{u}st$ ($fost$)	first
schytel	$\check{s}\bar{u}tl$	shuttle.

O.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 9.

ME. *o* usually remains *o* in the OD.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bopem	<i>boþem</i>	bottom
brok	<i>brok</i>	a badger
brosten	<i>brosn</i>	burst
chosen	<i>tšozn</i>	chosen
clokken	<i>kløk</i>	to cluck
clomb-en	<i>klom</i>	climbed [pret. and p. pl.]
cloven	<i>klovn</i>	cloven
coc?	<i>kokit</i>	au impudent girl
cod?(NED.)	<i>kod</i>	to banter
cop?(NED.)	<i>kop</i>	to catch hold

ME.	OD.	NE.
coper	<i>kopar</i>	copper
croft	<i>kroft</i>	field
crop	<i>krop</i>	stomach
folc	<i>fok</i>	folk
folgen	<i>folar</i>	to follow
foreward	<i>forad</i>	forward
frogge	<i>frog</i>	frog
mot	<i>mot</i>	a mark to aim at
openen	<i>op(a)n</i>	open
rop	<i>rops</i>	intestines
schonke	<i>šonks</i>	shanks
prostle	<i>prosl</i>	thrush.

b) ME. *o* = OE. *e*.

focchen	<i>fotš</i>	to fetch.
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c) ME. *o* = OE. *eo*.

zond	<i>jon(d)</i>	yonder.
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B. Scandinavian Sources.

blot	<i>blotš</i>	a blot	odde	<i>od</i>	to make equal
bobbin	<i>bobin</i>	a reel	offal	<i>ofal</i>	internal parts
colop	<i>kolap</i>	rasher of bacon	roggen	<i>rog</i>	to rattle
doze	<i>dozənin</i>	dozing	scoperell	<i>skopəril</i>	a spinning top.
fon	<i>fond</i>	foolish			
glopnen	<i>glopn</i>	to astonish			

C. Other Teutonic Sources.

blobure	<i>blob</i>	to bubble	moppe	<i>mopit</i>	a pert girl
clodde	<i>clod</i>	a grass turf	soppe	<i>sop</i>	to soak
cnokil	<i>nokalz</i>	knuckles	toteren	<i>todl</i>	to walk
lollen?	<i>lolopin</i>	awkward	trollin	<i>trol</i>	a loose woman.
lompe	<i>lomper</i>	to walk clumsily			

D. French Sources.

a) ME. <i>o</i> = Fr. <i>o</i> , (<i>o</i>) (accented).			b) ME. <i>o</i> = Fr. <i>o</i> , (<i>o</i>) (unaccented).		
ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
comicalle	<i>komikil</i>	comical	conceit	<i>konsēt</i>	conceit
hobeler	<i>hobil</i>	a block head	converten	<i>konvārt</i>	convert
jobarde	<i>džobār</i> <i>-naul</i>	a foolish fellow	gob	<i>gob</i>	mouth
provende	<i>provn</i>	provender	loğgen	<i>lodž</i>	a reservoir
roket	<i>rokit</i>	an outer garment	ossen	<i>os</i>	to try
volume	<i>volam</i>	volume.	poshot	<i>posat</i>	posset

E. Celtic Sources.

bobbe	<i>bob</i>	to dance about	fogge	<i>fog</i>	grass after mowing
boglen	<i>bogl</i>	to hesitate be afraid	jobbin	<i>job</i>	to stab
			serog	<i>skrog</i>	a fragment.

F. ME. *o* from Unknown Sources.

brodden (?)	<i>brodl</i>	to swagger	hoppere	<i>opār</i>	sort of basket
colok	<i>kolok</i>	a large pail	lopren	<i>lopārt</i>	curdled
costrelle	<i>kostril</i>	a little barrel	schocken (?)	<i>šog</i>	to jog.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 10.

1. ME. *o* has two developments before *r*.

a) = *q̄r*.

corde	<i>kwq̄rd</i>	cord
forzifen	<i>fq̄rgén</i>	forgiven
fortune	<i>fq̄rtin</i> (<i>fārtin</i>)	fortune
morn	<i>mq̄rn</i>	morning
orchard	<i>q̄rtšārt</i>	orchard
ort	<i>q̄rts</i>	broken victuals.

b) = *ā̃r*.

coral	<i>kā̃rəl</i>	coral
corn	<i>kā̃rn</i>	corn

enorre	<i>knā̃r</i>	knot in a tree
for	<i>fā̃r</i>	for
fortune	<i>fā̃rtin</i> (<i>fq̄rtin</i>)	fortune
horn	<i>hā̃rn</i>	horn
mord	<i>mā̃rp</i>	{ a great quantity
þorn	<i>pā̃rn</i>	
		thorn.

2. ME. *o* + *ŋ* = *uŋ*.

among	<i>amūŋg</i>	among
along	<i>alūŋg</i>	along
belongen	<i>bilūŋg</i>	belong
dongen	<i>dūŋg</i>	struck(pl.)

ME.	OD.	NE.
(lang) long	<i>lung</i>	long
(sang) song	<i>sung</i>	song
(strang) strong	<i>strung</i>	strong
(tange) tonge	<i>tung</i>	tongs
(throng) thrung	<i>prung</i>	throng
(wrang) wrong	<i>rung</i> (<i>rong</i>) (<i>ronk</i>)	wrong.

Note: *ronk* is an Ashton importation, cp. Introduction.

ME.	OD.	NE.
3. a) Before <i>l, s, t</i> , ME. <i>ol</i> = <i>au</i> .		
bolle	<i>bau</i>	bowl (sb.)
bolster	<i>baustar</i>	bolster
bolt	<i>baut</i>	bolt
colt	<i>kaut</i>	colt
pollen	<i>pau</i>	to cut
tol	<i>tau</i>	toll.
b) Before <i>k</i> ME. <i>ol</i> = <i>ō</i> .		
folk	<i>fōk</i> (<i>fok</i>)	folk
ȝolk	<i>jōk</i>	yolk.

U.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 11.

ME. *u* appears in the OD. as *u* and *u*. It is often difficult to decide which is the correct form, the latter predominating before *m, n, ŋ*.

1. ME. *u* = OE. *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bull	<i>bul</i> (<i>bīf</i>)	tough beef
bunden	<i>bund</i>	bound
butere	<i>butar</i> <i>butdār</i>	butter
cumen	<i>kumn</i>	
cuppe-bōrd	<i>kubart</i>	cup-board
drunken	<i>drunkn</i> <i>drūkn</i>	drunk
dubben	<i>dub</i>	
		to clip anything with a smooth edge

ME.	OD.	NE.
dun + ock	<i>dunak</i>	a hedge-sparrow
grund	<i>grun(d)</i> <i>unart</i>	ground
hund(red)	<i>undart</i> <i>undart</i>	
Lunden	<i>Lunən</i>	
luven	<i>luv</i>	to love
pund	<i>pund</i>	pound
scruf	<i>skruf</i>	scurf
sumhwat	<i>sumat</i>	something
sumbodiz	<i>sumbri</i>	somebody
tunne	<i>tun</i>	to pour liquor into casks
puner	<i>punar</i>	
purh	<i>pruf</i> (<i>prū</i>)	thunder
wunien	<i>wun</i>	live
wunder	<i>wundar</i>	wonder.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
2. ME. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>y</i> .					
bundel	<i>bundil</i>	bundle	schutte	<i>šut</i>	shut
crucche	<i>krutš</i>	crutch	trundel	<i>trundl</i>	trundle

B. Scandinavian Sources.

luggen	<i>lug</i>	to pull	ruke	<i>ruk</i>	{ a large quantity
muck	<i>muk</i>	filth			
puffen	<i>puf</i>	to breathe with diffi- culty			

C. ME. *u* from other Teutonic Sources.

plumpen	<i>plump</i>	{ straight to the point vexed	slutte	<i>slut</i>	{ a slovenly woman.
frumplen	<i>frumpt</i>				

D. French Sources.

busard	<i>buzart</i>	a large moth	gumme	<i>gum</i>	gum
bulge	<i>bulš</i>	to bulge	(gomme)		
cruste	<i>krusaz</i>	{ crusts	musel	<i>muz</i>	mouth
	<i>krusiz</i>		(mosel)		
flux	<i>fluks</i>	excited state of mind	stubl	<i>stubl</i>	stubble
			summe	<i>sum</i>	sum.
			(somme)		

E. Celtic Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.
crudde	<i>krud</i>	curds.

F. Unknown Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
chuffe	<i>tšuf</i>	surly	sluche	<i>slutš</i>	half melted snow.
crumpe	<i>krump</i>	cramp			
hukken	<i>ukl</i>	to stoop			
mum	<i>mum</i>	quiet			
punchen	<i>puns</i>	to kick			
ruckelen	<i>rukl</i>	to rattle			
scunneren	<i>skunə</i>	to dislike			
schunten	<i>šunt</i>	to move on	cumen	{	<i>kom (kum)</i> come
			comen		

Note: ME. *u* (*o*) also appears as *o* in the following cases, probably thus: *u* > *u* > *o*?

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
comforten	<i>komfart</i> (<i>kumfart</i>)	comfort	stump, stomp	<i>stomp</i> (<i>stump</i>)	stump
dromme	<i>drom</i> (<i>drum</i>)	drum	trumpet	{ <i>trompit</i> (<i>trumpit</i>) (<i>prumpit</i>)	trumpet
knokel	<i>nokelz</i> ¹	knuckles	up	<i>op</i> (<i>up</i>)	up.
sum (som)	<i>som</i> (<i>sum</i>)	some			
sumbodiz	<i>sombri</i> <i>somdi</i> <i>sumbri</i> <i>sumdi</i>	somebody			

2. Development in Combination.

§ 12.

1. ME. <i>u</i> + <i>r</i> = <i>ǣr</i> .			2. ME. <i>u</i> + <i>l</i> (final) or before <i>l</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>t</i> = <i>ū</i> or <i>ū</i> + <i>ð</i> or <i>t</i> .		
burlen	<i>bǣrl</i>	to pour	bulder	<i>būðar</i>	boulder
burre	<i>bǣr</i>	a sticky plant	(stōn)		
hurren	(<i>h</i>) <i>ǣr</i>	to purr	culter	<i>kūðar</i>	ploughshare
hurst	<i>hǣrst</i>	a wood, grove	ful	<i>fū</i>	full
murðren	<i>mǣrðar</i>	murder	pullen	<i>pū</i>	pull
murnen	<i>mǣrn</i>	mourn	schulder	<i>šūðar</i> (<i>šūdər</i>) (<i>šildər</i>)	shoulder.
wurcchen	<i>wǣrts</i>	to work			
wurzen	<i>warit</i>	to worry.			

ü.

A. English Sources.

§ 13.

ME. *ü* = OE. *y* has become ME. *i* in NW. Midland-Dialect = OD. *i* (cf. § 7, A, b.), but in the following OE. *y* > OD. *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bündel	<i>bundl</i>	bundle	schütel	<i>šutl</i>	shuttle
schütten	<i>šut</i>	shut	prüssche	<i>pruš</i>	thrush.

¹ No other form.

B. French Sources.

ME. <i>u</i> = Fr. <i>ü</i> = OD. <i>u</i> (<i>u</i>).			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.			
duchesse	<i>dutšəs</i>	duchess	just	<i>džust</i>	just
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble	justice	<i>džustis</i>	justice
juĝe	<i>džudž</i>	judge	punisse	<i>pūnis</i>	punish
			studie	<i>studi</i>	study.

Note: Cp. § 7 and 8.

Long Vowels.

ā.

1 Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 14.

ME. *ā* appears as *ē*, when final or before voiced consonants, as *ēⁱ* before unvoiced.

a) ME. *ā* = OE. *a*.

1. = OD. *ē*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
āken	<i>ēk</i>	ache
drāke	<i>drēk</i>	drake
hāte	<i>(h)ēt</i>	hate
lāke	<i>lēk</i>	lake
nāked	<i>nēkt</i>	naked
snāke	<i>snēk</i>	snake
stāpel	<i>stēpl</i>	staple
tāper	<i>tēpər</i>	taper.

2. = OD. *ēⁱ*.

grāse	<i>grēⁱz</i>	graze
grāve	<i>grēⁱv</i>	grave
knāve	<i>neⁱv</i>	knave

ME.	OD.	NE.
lāde	<i>lēⁱd</i>	lade
wāde	<i>wēⁱd</i>	wade
māne	<i>mēⁱn</i>	mane
māme	<i>nēⁱm</i>	name
sāme	<i>seⁱm</i>	same
spāde	<i>spēⁱd</i>	spade
tāle	<i>tēⁱl</i>	tale.

b) ME. *ā* = OE. *ea*.

āle	<i>ēⁱl</i>	ale
gāte	<i>gēt</i>	gete
schāde	<i>sēⁱd</i>	shade.

c) ME. *ā* = OE. *æ*.

blād	<i>blēⁱd</i>	blade
māpel	<i>mēⁱpl</i>	maple
rāven	<i>rēⁱvn</i>	raven
wāter	<i>wētər</i> (<i>wētđər</i>) (<i>watər</i>)	water.

B. Scandinavian Sources.

gāpe	<i>gēp</i>	gape	gāse	<i>gēⁱz</i>	gaze
gāte	<i>gēt</i>	way, road	cāke	<i>kēk</i>	cake.

C. French Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
āble	<i>ē'bl</i>	able	fāble	<i>fē'bl</i>	fable
bācon	<i>bēkn</i>	bacon	fāce	<i>fēs</i>	face
bācin	<i>bēs'n</i>	basin	fāme	<i>fē'im</i>	fame
blāme	<i>blē'im</i>	blame	māsoun	<i>mēs'n</i>	mason
cāge	<i>kē'dž</i>	cage	nāture	<i>nētər</i>	nature
cās	<i>kēs</i>	case		<i>(nētđər)</i>	
debāte	<i>dībēt</i>	debate	plāce	<i>plēs</i>	place.
escāpen	<i>eskēp</i>	escape			

2. Development in Combination.

§ 15.

ME. $\bar{a} + r =$ OD. \bar{a}^r (very long).

fāre	<i>fār</i>	fare
hāre	<i>hār</i>	hare
kāreles	<i>kār'ləs</i>	careless

spāren	<i>spār</i>	spare
stāre	<i>stār</i>	stare.

Note: For a shortening of ME. \bar{a} to \check{a} see special chapter on long Vowels shortened in OD.

\bar{e} .

I. \bar{e} .

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 16.

1. ME. $\bar{e} =$ OE. $\bar{e}a$.

a) = OD. $\bar{e}a$, je .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bēam	bēm	<i>bīam</i>	beam
bēan	bēne	<i>bīan</i>	bean
bēatan	bēte	<i>bīat, bjet</i>	beat
brēad	brēd	<i>brīad</i>	bread
čēap	chēp	<i>tšīap (tšēp)</i>	cheap
dēad	dēd	<i>dīad, djed</i>	dead
dēaf	dēf	<i>dīaf</i>	deaf
dēap	dēp	<i>dīap, djep</i>	death
drēam	drēm	<i>drīam (drēm)</i>	dream

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
hēafod	hēd	<i>jed</i>	head
hēap	hēp	<i>īap</i>	heap
lēaf	lēf	<i>līaf</i>	leaf
hlēapan	lēpe	<i>līap</i>	leap
sēam	sēm	<i>sīam</i>	seam
stēam	stēm	<i>stīam</i>	steam
strēam	strēm	<i>strīam</i>	stream.

b) = OD. *ī*, probably influenced by the lit. language.

ēast	ēst	<i>īst</i>	east
stēap	stēp	<i>stīp</i>	steep.

c) = OD. *ē*.

ēastro	ēster	<i>ēstər, ēsþər</i>	Easter
grēat	grēt	<i>grēt</i>	great.

2. ME. *ē* = OE. *æ* (Germ. *ai* + *i, j*).

a) = OD. *īa, je*.

clāene	clēne	<i>tlīen (tlen)</i>	clean
dāl	dēl	<i>dīal, djel</i>	deal
hālan	hēle	<i>īal, jel</i>	heal
hāte	hēte	<i>īat, jet</i>	heat
hāp	hēp	<i>īeþ, jeþ</i>	heath
lādan	lēde	<i>līad, ljed</i>	lead
hlāene	lēne	<i>līan</i>	lean
lāst	lēst	<i>līast</i>	least
lāfan	lēve	<i>līav</i>	leave
zēmāene	mēne	<i>mīan</i>	mean (adj)
mānan	mēne	<i>mīan</i>	mean (vb.)
rāccan	rēche	<i>rīatš (rētš)</i>	reach
sprādan	sprēde	<i>sprīed</i>	spread
swātan	swēte	<i>swīat (swot)</i>	sweat
hwāte	whēte	<i>wīat</i>	wheat.

b) = OD. *ē*.

sāl	sē	<i>sē (sī)</i>	sea
tāčian	tēche	<i>tētš</i>	teach.

c) = OD. *ī*.

sāl	sē	<i>sī (sē)</i>	sea.
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d) = OD. *ō*.

swātan	swēte	<i>swot (swīat)</i>	sweat.
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B. French Sources.

The vast majority of genuine dialect words from the French show a development of ME. \bar{e} to \bar{e} .

I. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *ai, ei*.

a) = OD. \bar{e} (\bar{e}').

Fr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
aise	\bar{e} se	$\bar{e}'z$	ease
aigle	\bar{e} gle	$\bar{e}gl$	eagle
eigre	\bar{e} gre	$\bar{e}g\bar{o}$	eager
pais	pēs	pēs	peace
raison	rēsoun	rēzn [<i>rīazn, rezn, rjezn</i>]	reason
traitier	trēten (traiten)	trēt	treat.
graisse	grēse	grēs	grease

b) = OD. \bar{ia} , $jē$.

plaisir	plēse	plīaz (<i>plez</i>)	please
raison	rēsoun	rīazn, rjezn, [rēzn, rezn]	reason
saison	sēsoun	sīazn	season
saisir	sēsen (<i>saisen</i>)	sīaz	seize.

c) = OD. \bar{v} (influenced by the lit. language).

desaise	disēze	diēz	disease
encreiss-	enchrēsen	inkrīz	increase
fait	fēt	fīt	feat
faiture	fētūre	fītšar	feature
plaidier	plēde	plīd	plead.

II. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *e*.

a) = OD. \bar{e} .

decevoir	deceve (deceive)	disēv	deceive
prechier	prēchen	prētš	preach
recet	recēt (<i>reçoit</i>)	risēt	receipt.

b) = OD. \bar{ia} .

beste	bēste	bīast	beast
feste	fēste	fīast	feast
recevoir	recēve (receive)	resīav	receive.

c) = OD. \bar{i} (literary influence).

Fr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
appeler	apēle	<i>apīl</i>	appeal
cesser	cēse	<i>sīs</i>	cease.

III. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *ēe* = OD. \bar{ia} .

sēel	sēle	<i>sīal</i>	seal
vēel	vēl	<i>vīal</i>	veal.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 17.

ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OD. $\bar{ia}r$.

bēard	bērd	<i>bīar^d</i>	beard
ēare	ēre	<i>īar^r</i>	ear
nēar	nēr	<i>nīar^r</i>	near
tēar	tēr	<i>tīar^r</i>	tear (sb.).

II. \bar{e} .

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 18.

1. ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} (\bar{o} + *i, j*).

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

bēče	bēche	<i>bītš</i>	beech
blēdan	blēde	<i>blīd</i>	bleed
brēč	brēche	<i>brītšoz</i>	breeches
fēdan	fēde	<i>fīd</i>	feed
fēlan	fēle	<i>fīl</i>	feel
fēt	fēt	<i>fīt</i>	feet
gēs	gēs	<i>gīs</i>	geese
grēne	grēne	<i>grīn</i>	green
grētan	grēten	<i>grīt</i>	weep
sēcan	sēke, sēche	<i>sītš</i>	seek
twēte	swēte	<i>swīt</i>	sweet
sēp	tēth	<i>tīp</i>	teeth.

b) = OD. \bar{ia} , *je*.

brēdan	brēde	<i>brīad</i>	breed
mētan	mēte	<i>mīat, mjet</i>	meet
spēd	spēd	<i>spīad</i>	speed.

2. ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} = WG. \bar{e} final.

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
hē	hē	\bar{i} (\bar{i}) ($\bar{\bar{i}}$)	he
mē	mē	$m\bar{i}$ (mi)	me
þē	þē	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$ ($\bar{d}i$)	thee
wē	wē	$w\bar{i}$ (wi)	we.

b) = OD. \bar{i} .

hē	hē	\bar{i} (\bar{i}) ($\bar{\bar{i}}$)	he
mē	mē	$m\bar{i}$ [$m\bar{i}$]	me
þē	þē	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$ [$\bar{d}\bar{i}$]	thee
wē	wē	$w\bar{i}$ [$w\bar{i}$]	we.

c) = OD. $\bar{\bar{i}}$.

hē	hē	$\bar{\bar{i}}$ (\bar{i}) (\bar{i})	he.
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Note: The forms with \bar{i} are stressed, those with \bar{i} or $\bar{\bar{i}}$ unstressed.

3. ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}o$.

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

bēon	bē	$b\bar{i}$ (bi)	be
bēo	bē	$b\bar{i}$	bee
cēoke	chēke	$t\bar{s}\bar{i}k$	cheek
dēop	dēp	$d\bar{i}p$	deep
dēofol	dēvel	$d\bar{i}l$ ($di\bar{v}l$) ($d\bar{e}l$, $dj\bar{u}l$)	} devil
frēosan	frēse	$fr\bar{i}z$	
lēof	lēf	$l\bar{i}f$ ($l\bar{e}f$)	lief
sēon	sē	$s\bar{i}$	see
þēof	thēf	$\bar{þ}\bar{i}f$	thief
wēod	wēd	$w\bar{i}d$	weed
hwēol	whēl	$w\bar{i}l$	wheel.

b) = OD. $\bar{i}a$.

crēopan	crēpe	$kr\bar{i}ep$	creep
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c) = OD. \bar{e} .

dēofol	dēvel	$d\bar{e}l$ ($d\bar{i}l$, $di\bar{v}l$, $dj\bar{u}l$)	devil
lēof	lēf	$l\bar{e}f$ ($l\bar{i}f$)	lief.

d) = OD. \bar{i} .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bēon	bēn	<i>bin</i> (<i>bīn</i>)	been
bēon	bē	<i>bi</i> (<i>bī</i>)	be
dēofol	dēvel	<i>diwl</i>	devil
sēoc	sēk	<i>sik</i>	sick.

e) = OD. $j\bar{u}$.

dēofol	dēvel	<i>djūl</i>	devil.
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4. ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} ($\bar{e}a$ + i, j)

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

zelēfan	bilēvc	<i>bilīv</i>	believe
sčēte	schētc	<i>šīt</i>	sheet
stēpel	stēpel	<i>stīpa</i>	steeple
tēzan	tēge (<i>tīge</i>)	<i>tī</i>	tie.

b) = OD. \bar{ia} .

nēd	nēd (<i>nēd</i>)	<i>nīad</i>	need
slēfe	slēve	<i>slīan</i>	sleeve.

5. ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} + *ld*.

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

fēld	fēld	<i>fīlt</i> (<i>fēlt</i>)	field
zēldan	zēlde	<i>jīld</i>	yield.

b) = OD. \bar{e} .

fēld	fēld	<i>fēlt</i> (<i>fīlt</i>)	field.
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B. French Sources.

ME. \bar{e} = OD. \bar{i} :

1. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *é* = OD. \bar{i} .

agrээр	agrēc	<i>agrī</i>	agree
légende	lēgende	<i>līdžand</i>	legend.

2. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *ie* = OD. \bar{i} .

chief	chēf	<i>tšīf</i>	chief
niece	nēce	<i>nīs</i>	niece
piece	pēce	<i>pīs</i>	peace.

3. ME. \bar{e} + *a* = Fr. *ea* = OD. *iě*.

theatre	tēatre	<i>piētār</i>	theatre.
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4. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *ué* = OD. $\bar{i}a$.

OFr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
buéf	bēf	<i>bīaf</i>	beef
puéple	pēple	<i>pīapl</i>	people.

5. ME. \bar{e} = Fr. *e*, *ié*.

a) = OD. \bar{i} .

degre	degrē	<i>digrī</i>	degree
relever	relēve	<i>rilīv</i>	relieve
succeder	succēde	<i>suksīd</i>	succeed.

b) = OD. $\bar{i}a$.

griéf, grēf	grēf	<i>grīaf</i>	grief
grever	grēve	<i>grīav</i>	grieve.

c) = OD. \bar{e} .

(L) febrem	fēver	<i>fēvār</i>	fever
obedient	obēdient	<i>obēdjānt</i>	obedient
special	spēcial	<i>spēšāl</i>	special.

§ 19.

1. ME. \bar{e} before *r* in English Words.

a) ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OE. $\bar{e}r$ ($\bar{o} + i, j$).

a) = OD. $\bar{i}a^r$.

wēriȝ	wēry	<i>wīa^ri</i> (<i>wēa^ri</i>)*	weary.
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b) = OD. $\bar{e}a^r$.

wēriȝ	wēry	<i>wēa^ri</i> (<i>wīa^ri</i>)	weary.
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b) ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OE. $\bar{e}r$ = WG. \bar{e} (final).

hēr	hēre	<i>īa^r</i>	here.
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c) ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OE. $\bar{e}or$ = OD. $\bar{i}a^r$.

bēor	bēr	<i>bīa^r</i>	bear
dēore	dēre	<i>dīa^r</i>	dear
dēor	dēr	<i>dīa^r</i>	deer
drēoriz	drēri	<i>drīa^ri</i>	dreary.

* Note: The form *drī* is more common in the OD.

2. ME. \bar{e} before *r* in French Words.

1. ME. $\bar{e}r$ = Fr. *ier*.

a) = OD. $\bar{i}a^r$.

fiers	fērs	<i>fīa^rs</i>	fierce
piere	pēre	<i>pīa^r</i>	pier.

2. ME. *ēr* = *aier* = OD. *aiǎr*.

OFr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
quaier	quēr (quaer)	<i>kwaiaǎr</i>	quire.

3. ME. *ēr* = Fr. *œur* = OD. *aiǎr*.

chœur	quēr	<i>kwaiaǎr</i>	choir.
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4. ME. *ēr* = Fr. *er*.

a) = OD. *īǎr*.

aperer	apēre	<i>apīǎr</i>	appear
cler	clēr	<i>ltīǎr</i>	clear
fers (fiers)	fērs	<i>fīǎrs</i>	fierce.
chere	chēre	<i>tšīǎr</i>	cheer.

b) = OD. *aiǎr*.

enquer- frere	enquēre frēre	<i>inkwaier</i> <i>fraiaǎr</i>	enquire. friar.
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III. ME. *ē* -- *ē* from. W. Germ. *ā*.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 20.

1. ME. *ē* -- *ē* = OE. *ē*, *ǣ*.

a) = OD. *īǎ*.

brǣð	brēth	<i>brīǎþ</i>	breath
brǣpan	brēpen	<i>brīǎð</i>	breathe
on-drǣdan	drēd	<i>drīǎd</i>	dread
nǣdl	nēdle	<i>nīǎdl</i> (<i>nīld</i> , <i>nīl</i>)	} needle
sčǣp	schēp	<i>šīǎp</i>	
slǣpan	slēpe	<i>slīǎp</i>	sleep
stǣle	stēle	<i>stīǎl</i>	steel
strǣt	strēte	<i>striǎt</i>	street
þrǣd	thrēd	<i>þrīǎd</i>	thread.

b) = OD. *ī*.

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
dǣd	dēd	<i>dīd</i>	deed
ǣl	ēl	<i>īl</i>	eel
ǣfnung	ēvening	<i>īn</i>	evening
grǣdiȝ	grēdi	<i>grīdi</i>	greedy
nǣdl	nēdle	<i>nīld, nīl</i> <i>(nīǣdl)</i>	needle
sǣd	sēd	<i>sīd</i>	

c) = OD. *ē*.

spǣċ	spēche	<i>spētš</i>	speech.
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d) = OD. *ūa*.

hǣr	hēr	<i>jūa</i>	hair.
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e) = OD. *ī*.

in + stǣde	instēde	<i>istid</i>	instead
rǣdels	rēdles	<i>ridl</i>	riddle.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 21.

ME. *ē* - *ē* + *r* = OE. *ēr*, *ǣr*.

1. = OD. *īa*.

bǣr	bēre	<i>bīa</i>	bier
fǣr	fēre	<i>fīa</i>	fear.

2. = OD. *ā*.

wǣron	wēre	<i>wā</i>	were
hwǣr	wēhr	<i>wā</i> (<i>wīa</i>)	where.

IV. Medium *ē* = OE. *ë* in Open Syllables.

(cp. Luick, Untersuchungen § 202.)

1. Spontaneous Development.

§ 22.

a) = OD. *ia*, *ja*.

cnēdan	knēde	<i>nīad</i> (<i>ned</i>)	knead
mēlo	mēl	<i>mīal, mjel</i> <i>(mēl)</i>	meal
stēlan	stēle	<i>stīal, stjēl</i> <i>(stēl)</i>	
trēdan	trēde	<i>trīad</i> (<i>trēd</i>)	tread.

b) = OD. \bar{e} .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
brēcān	brēke	<i>brēk</i>	break
ētan	ētē	<i>ēt</i>	eat
mēlo	mēl	<i>mēl</i> (<i>mīal</i> , <i>mjel</i>)	meal
spēcān	spēke	<i>spēk</i>	
stēlan	stēle	<i>stēl</i> (<i>stīal</i> , <i>stjel</i>)	steal
trēdan	trēde	<i>trēd</i> (<i>trīed</i>)	
wēfan	wēve	<i>wēv</i>	weave.

c) = OD. \bar{i} .

brēcān + fæstan	brēkefaste	<i>brīkfæst</i>	breakfast.
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2. Development in Combination.

§ 23.

1. ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OE. \bar{e} - before *r*.

a) = OD. $\bar{i}\bar{a}r$.

sčēran	schēre	<i>šīār</i>	shear
spēre	spēre	<i>spīār</i>	spear.

b) = OD. $\bar{e}\bar{a}r$.

bēra	bēre	<i>bēār</i>	bear (sb.)
bēran	bēre	<i>bēār</i> (<i>bār</i>)	bear (vb.)
pēru	pēre	<i>pēār</i> (<i>pār</i>)	pear
tēran	tēre	<i>tēār</i> (<i>tār</i>)	tear (vb.).

c) = OD. $\bar{a}r$.

bēran	bēre	<i>bār</i> (<i>bāār</i>)	bear (vb.)
pēru	pēre	<i>pār</i> (<i>pāār</i>)	pear
tēran	tēre	<i>tār</i> (<i>tāār</i>)	tear (vb.).

2. ME. $\bar{e}r$ = OE. *e*- before *r*.

a) = OD. $\bar{e}\bar{a}r$.

swērian	swēre	<i>swēār</i> (<i>swār</i>)	swear
wērian	wēre	<i>wēār</i>	wear.

b) = OD. $\bar{a}r$.

swērian	swēre	<i>swār</i> (<i>swāār</i>)	swear.
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V.

§ 24.

In the following words *ē* (from various sources) has had *j* prefixed.

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>āl</i>	<i>ēl</i>	<i>jel</i>	<i>awl</i>
<i>āerlice</i>	<i>ērli</i>	<i>jarli</i>	<i>early</i>
<i>ēare</i>	<i>ēre</i>	<i>jīar</i>	<i>ear</i>
<i>eornust</i>	<i>ērnest</i>	<i>jōrnest, jārnest</i>	<i>earnest</i>
<i>eorðe</i>	<i>ērthe</i>	<i>jārþ</i>	<i>earth</i>
Fr. <i>aise</i>	<i>ēse + y</i>	<i>jezi</i>	<i>easy</i>
<i>ētan</i>	<i>ēte</i>	<i>jet</i>	<i>eat.</i>

I.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 25.

ME. *ī* has two developments in the OD. becoming either *ai*, the older form or *ei* as in the literary language.

1. a) ME. *ī* = OE. *ī* = OD. *ai*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>fīnde</i>	<i>fāind</i>	<i>find</i>
<i>fīve</i>	<i>fāiv</i>	<i>five</i>
<i>hwīle</i>	<i>wāil (wol)</i>	<i>while</i>
<i>mīle</i>	<i>māil</i>	<i>mile</i>
<i>mīn</i>	<i>māin</i>	<i>mine</i>
<i>pīpe</i>	<i>pāip</i>	<i>pipe</i>
<i>rīden</i>	<i>rāid</i>	<i>ride</i>
<i>sīde</i>	<i>sāid</i>	<i>side</i>
<i>schīnen</i>	<i>šāin</i>	<i>shine</i>
<i>strīken</i>	<i>strāik</i>	<i>strike</i>
<i>tīme</i>	<i>tāim</i>	<i>time</i>
<i>wīf</i>	<i>wāif</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>wīlde</i>	<i>wāild</i>	<i>wild</i>

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>wīnden</i>	<i>wāint</i>	<i>wind</i>
<i>wīten</i>	<i>rāit</i>	<i>write.</i>

b) Forms where *ai* is preferred, though *ei* is also found. In some cases the words are not in common use in the dialect.

<i>chīmbe</i>	<i>tšāim</i> (<i>tsāim</i>)	<i>chime</i>
<i>climben</i>	<i>tlāim</i> (<i>tlāim</i>)	<i>climb</i>
<i>grīnden</i>	<i>grāind</i> (<i>grāind</i>)	<i>grind</i>
<i>līf</i>	<i>laif (laif)</i>	<i>life</i>
<i>mīlde</i>	<i>maild</i> (<i>māild</i>)	<i>mild</i>
<i>sīde</i>	<i>sāid</i>	<i>scythe</i>
<i>swīn</i>	<i>swain</i>	<i>swine.</i>

c) Forms where I have only heard *ai*. They are either foreign to the dialect or strongly influenced by the lit. language.

ME.	OD.	NE.
abīden	<i>abaid</i>	bear, put up with
arīsen	<i>araiz</i>	arise
bīnden	<i>baind</i>	bind
Chrīst	<i>kraist</i>	Christ
īs	<i>aīs</i>	ice
īdel	<i>aidl</i> ¹	idle
īlond	<i>ailənd</i>	island
līne	<i>lain</i>	line
whīt	<i>wait</i>	white
wīd	<i>waid</i>	wide
wīn	<i>wain</i>	wine
wīse	<i>waiz</i>	wise.

2. ME. *ī* = OE. *ȳ*.

a) = OD. *ai*.

bīle	<i>bail</i>	boil (tumour)
dīven	<i>daiu</i>	dive
hīde	<i>haið</i>	hide (skin)
hīden	<i>haið</i>	to hide
hīve	<i>aiu</i>	hive
līs	<i>lais</i>	lice
mīs	<i>mais</i>	mice
minde	<i>maind</i>	mind
tīnen	<i>tain (tīn)</i>	to shut.

ME. OD. NE.

b) = OD. *ai*.

bīle	<i>bail</i>	bile
brīde	<i>braid</i>	bride
kīnde	<i>kaind</i>	kind
prīde	<i>praid</i>	pride.

c) = OD. *ī*.

tīnen	<i>tīn (tāin)</i>	shut
wīschen	<i>wīš</i>	wish.

d) = OD. *ī*.

lītel	<i>litl</i>	little
thīmel	<i>þimbl</i>	thimble.

3. ME. *ī* = OE. *i* (*ē*), *y* + *z*
= OD. *ai* or *ai*.

bīe (biġġe)	<i>bai</i>	buy
drīze	<i>drai</i>	dry
nīne	<i>nain</i>	nine
rīe	<i>rai</i>	rye
stīle	<i>stail</i> (<i>stail</i>)	stile
tīe	<i>tai</i>	tie
tīle	<i>tail</i>	tile
tīthe	<i>taid</i>	tithe.

4. ME. *ī* = OE. *ēo* + *z*.

flīe	<i>flāi (flai)</i>	fly
līe	<i>lāi</i>	to tell lies.

5. ME. *ī* = OE. *ēa* + *z*.

(eie), īe	<i>ai</i>	eye.
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B. French Sources.

a) ME. *ī* = OD. *ai*.

fine	<i>fain</i>	fine
nīce	<i>nais</i>	nice
quīete	<i>kwaiet</i>	quiet

sīgne	<i>sain</i>	sign
spīt	<i>spait</i>	spite
strīf	<i>straiif</i>	strife
strīve	<i>straiu</i>	strive.

¹ A most uncommon word in OD. It is always expressed by *lēzi* = lazy.

b) = OD. <i>ai</i> or <i>ai</i> .			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.			
fīnal	<i>faināl</i> (<i>faināl</i>)	} final	Bīble	<i>Baibl</i>	Bible
			crīe	<i>krāi</i>	cry
līoun	<i>laiən</i> (<i>laiən</i>)	} lion	delīte	<i>dilāit</i>	delight
			denīe	<i>dināi</i>	deny
pīnte	<i>paint</i> (<i>paint</i>)	} pint	dīamaund	<i>dāimənt</i>	diamond
			gīaunt	<i>dzāient</i>	giant
sīlent	<i>sailənt</i> (<i>sailənt</i>) ¹	} silent.	lībrairie	<i>lāibrəri</i>	library
			prīs (<i>prīvē</i>)	<i>prāis</i> <i>prāivət</i>	price private
			resīgnen	<i>rizāin</i>	resign
			tīgre	<i>tāigər</i>	tiger
			vīce	<i>vāis</i>	vice
			vīolent	<i>vāilent</i>	violent.

c) ME. *ī* = OD. *āi*.

avīs	<i>advāis</i>	advice
apetīt	<i>apetāit</i>	appetite

C. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. <i>ī</i> = OD. <i>ai</i> , <i>ai</i> .					
ME.	OD.	NE.			
dīe	<i>dai</i>	die	skīe	<i>skai</i> <i>skai</i>	} sky
			thrīve	<i>þraiv</i>	

ME. *ī* in Combination.

§ 26.

ME. <i>ī</i> + <i>r</i> gives the triphthongs <i>aiar</i> and <i>aiar</i> in the OD.					
ME.	OD.	NE.			
desīre	<i>dizāiar</i>	desire	squīre	<i>skwaiar</i>	squire
empīre	<i>Empaiar</i>	Empire	wīr	<i>waiar</i>	wire.
fīr	<i>faiar</i>	fire			
hīren	<i>haiar</i>	hire			
īren	<i>aiarn</i>	iron			
mīre	<i>maiar</i>	mire			
schīre	<i>šāiar</i>	shire			

Note: "Empire" being a common name for music halls and theatres it has become an integral part of the Dialect an has conformed to the usual Sound Law.

¹ *sailent* is rare, *kwaiet* is the more commonly used word.

Q.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 27.

I. ME. \bar{q} becomes \bar{u} in the OD.

1. ME. \bar{q} = OE. \bar{a} .

ME.	OD.	NE.
al \bar{q} ne	<i>alūan</i>	alono
b \bar{q} t	<i>būat</i>	boat
b \bar{q} n	<i>būan</i>	bone
b \bar{q} the	<i>būap</i> (<i>bwoþ</i>)	both
cl \bar{q} th	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes
g \bar{q}	<i>gūa</i> (<i>gū</i>)	go
gr \bar{q} ne	<i>grūan</i>	groan
h \bar{q} m	<i>ūam</i> (<i>wom</i>)	home
l \bar{q} f	<i>lūaf</i>	loaf
m \bar{q} st	<i>mūast</i> (<i>mwest</i>)	most
n \bar{q} se	<i>nūaz</i>	nose
ōtes	<i>ūats</i> (<i>wots</i>)	oats
ōþ	<i>uap</i>	oath
r \bar{q} de	<i>rūad</i> (<i>r\bar{q}d</i>)	road
s \bar{q} pe	<i>sūap</i> (<i>swop</i>)	soap
st \bar{q} n	<i>stūan</i>	stone
p \bar{q} s	<i>ðūaz</i> (<i>ðūz</i>)	those.

2. ME. \bar{q} = OE. o .

c \bar{q} le	<i>kūal</i> (<i>koil</i>)	coal
fl \bar{q} te	<i>flūat</i>	float
r \bar{q} se	<i>rūaz</i>	rose
sm \bar{q} ke	<i>smūak</i>	smoke(sb.)*
þr \bar{q} te	<i>þrūat</i>	throat.

* Note: The dialect word for "smoke" as a verb is *rītš*.

II. In a number of words ME. \bar{q} has become \bar{o} .

ME.	OD.	NE.
ar \bar{q} s	<i>arōz</i>	arose
at- \bar{q} n	<i>atōn</i>	atone
b \bar{q} ste	<i>bōst</i>	boast
br \bar{q} che	<i>brōtš</i>	broach
g \bar{q} te	<i>gōt</i>	goat
gr \bar{q} te	<i>grōt</i>	groat
h \bar{q} p	<i>hōp</i>	hope
m \bar{q} ne	<i>mōn</i>	moan
ōc	<i>ōk</i>	oak
s \bar{q} (<i>swo</i>)	<i>sō</i>	so
t \bar{q}	<i>tō</i>	toe.

Note: These cases where ME. \bar{q} = \bar{o} are probably due either to the influence of lit. English or to that of the adjoining western dialects. Cp. Hargreaves § 41.

III. ME. \bar{q} = *wo*, *wu*.

b \bar{q} n	<i>bwon</i> (<i>būan</i>)	bone
b \bar{q} the	<i>bwoþ</i> (<i>būap</i>)	both
c \bar{q} t	<i>kwot</i> (<i>kūat</i>)	coat
g \bar{q}	<i>gwo</i> (<i>gūa</i>)	go
h \bar{q} l	<i>wol</i> (<i>wul</i>)	whole
h \bar{q} m	<i>wom</i> (<i>wum</i>)	home

ME.	OD.	NE.
hōt	<i>wot</i>	hot
lōde	<i>lwod</i> (<i>lūad</i>)	load
mōst	<i>mwoost</i> (<i>mūast</i>)	most
ōn	<i>won</i> (<i>wun</i>)	one*
ōnes	<i>wonst</i> (<i>wunst</i>)	once
ōtes	<i>wots</i> (<i>wuts</i>)	oats
sōpe	<i>swop</i> (<i>sūap</i>)	soap
tōde	<i>twod</i> (<i>tūad</i>)	toad.

* Note: "The one" is however *t'ōn*.

IV. There still remain a number of forms with peculiar developments.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cōle	<i>koil(kūal)</i>	coal
hōle	<i>oil</i>	hole
gō	<i>gū (gūa)</i>	go
gōn	<i>gun</i>	gone
shōn	<i>šun</i>	shone
sōry	<i>sūri</i>	sorry
pōs	<i>đūz(đūaz)</i>	those.

Note: The forms "*koil*" and "*oil*" are probably importations from the neighbouring West Riding of Yorkshire. Cp. Wright § 109.

B. French Sources.

clōse	<i>tlūas (tlūs)</i>	close	rōste	<i>rūast</i>	roast
cōt	<i>kūat</i> (<i>kwot</i>)	coat	tōste	<i>tūast</i>	toast.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 28.

1. ME. $\bar{q} + l$ before *d* = *au*
in OD.

behōlde	<i>bihaud</i>	behold
bōld	<i>baud</i>	bold
fōld	<i>faut</i>	fold
gōld	<i>gaud</i> (<i>gūld</i>) ¹	gold
gōlden	<i>gaudn</i> (<i>gūldn</i>)	golden
hōlde	<i>haud</i>	hold
ōld	<i>aud</i>	old

sōld	<i>saud</i>	sold
tōld	<i>taud</i>	told.

2. ME. $\bar{q} + r$ mostly follows the general rule becoming *ūar*.

bifōren	<i>bifūar</i> (<i>bifōar</i>)	before
glōrie	<i>dlūari</i>	glory
hōrse	<i>ūar's</i>	hoarse
mōre	<i>mūar</i>	more
rōre	<i>rūa</i>	roar
sōr	<i>sūar</i>	sore.

¹ From ME. *gōld*.

But ME. \bar{o} is retained in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
b \bar{o} ren	b $\bar{o}^r n$	born
bif \bar{o} ren	bif \bar{o}^r (bif \bar{u}^r)	before

ME.	OD.	NE.
l \bar{o} rd	l $\bar{o}rd$	lord
\bar{o} ver	\bar{o}^r (\bar{u}^r)	over
sw \bar{o} ren	sw $\bar{o}^r n$	sworn.

\bar{o} .

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 29.

ME. \bar{o} becomes \bar{u} in the OD.
as in the lit. language.

1. a) ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{o} .

ME.	OD.	NE.
br \bar{o} m	br $\bar{u}m$	broom
c \bar{o} l	k $\bar{u}l$	cool
d \bar{o} m	d $\bar{u}m$	doom
d \bar{o} n	d \bar{u}	do
f \bar{o} de	f $\bar{u}d$	food
gl \bar{o} m	gl $\bar{u}m$	gloom
g \bar{o} me	g $\bar{u}ms$	gums
g \bar{o} s	g $\bar{u}s$	goose
h \bar{o} f	h $\bar{u}f$	hoof
m \bar{o} d	m $\bar{u}d$	mood
m \bar{o} der	m $\bar{u}d^r$ (m $\bar{u}d^r$)	mother
m \bar{o} ne	m $\bar{u}n$ (m \bar{u}^n)	moon
n \bar{o} n	n $\bar{u}n$	noon
p \bar{o} l	p \bar{u}	pool
pr \bar{o} ve	pr $\bar{u}v$	prove
r \bar{o} de	r $\bar{u}d$	rood
r \bar{o} f	r $\bar{u}f$	roof
r \bar{o} te	r $\bar{u}t$	root
sc \bar{o} le	sk \bar{u}	school
sch \bar{o}	š \bar{u}	shoe
sm \bar{o} the	sm $\bar{u}t$	smooth
s \bar{o} ne	s $\bar{u}n$	soon

ME.	OD.	NE.
st \bar{o} l	st \bar{u}	stool
t \bar{o}	t \bar{u}	too
t \bar{o} l	t $\bar{u}l$	tool.

Note: The form $g\bar{u}$ may also originate in an old ME. $g\bar{o}$, cf. Luick §§ 143, 144.

b) ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{a} .

wh \bar{o}	h \bar{u}	who
hw \bar{o} m	h $\bar{u}m$	whom
w \bar{o} mbe	w $\bar{u}m$	womb.

Note: This change of OE. \bar{a} to ME. \bar{o} is due to the influence of the preceding w .

2. In a few Words ME. \bar{o} = OD. \bar{u}^a .

h \bar{u} \bar{o} s	(h) $\bar{u}^a z$	whose
m \bar{o} ne	m \bar{u}^n (m $\bar{u}n$)	moon
sp \bar{o} n	sp \bar{u}^n	spoon
t \bar{o} th	t \bar{u}^p	tooth.

Note: This may be sound-substitution for the Yorkshire $\bar{u}i$ in these words, cp. Wright § 163.

3. In the following words there is fluctuation between \bar{u} and \bar{u} for ME. \bar{o} .

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bōk	<i>būk</i>	book	cōk	<i>kūk</i>	cook
brōk	<i>brūk</i>	brook	hōc	<i>hūk</i>	hook
			lōke	<i>lūk</i>	look
			mōder	<i>mūdār</i>	mother
			sōt	<i>sūt</i>	soot
			tōke	<i>tūk</i>	took.

B. French Sources.

ME. \bar{o} = French. <i>o</i> .					
aprōve	<i>aprūv</i>	approve	fōl	<i>fū</i>	fool
			mōve	<i>mūv</i>	move.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 30.

ME. $\bar{o} + r = \bar{u}r$.					
flōr	<i>flūr</i>	floor	mōr	<i>mūr</i>	moor
dōr- (duru) ¹	<i>dūr (dār)</i>	door	pōvre	<i>pūr</i>	poor.

\bar{u} .

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 31.

ME. $\bar{u} = eu$ in the OD.					
1. ME. $\bar{u} = OE. \bar{u}$.			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.	hound	<i>heunt</i>	hound
adoun	<i>deun</i>	down	hous	<i>heus</i>	house
būwe	<i>bēu</i>	bow (vb)	how	<i>heu</i>	how
brow	<i>breu</i>	brow	loud	<i>leud</i>	loud
brown	<i>breun</i>	brown	lous	<i>leus</i>	louse
cloude	<i>kleud</i>	cloud	mous	<i>meus</i>	mouse
clout	<i>kleut</i>	rag, blow	now	<i>neu</i>	now
cū	<i>kēu</i>	cow	out	<i>eut</i>	out
drought	<i>dreut</i>	drought	oule	<i>eul</i>	owl
foul	<i>feu</i>	foul	pound	<i>peund</i> (<i>pun(d)</i>)	pound
ground	<i>greund</i> (<i>grun</i>)	ground	schroud	<i>šreud</i>	shroud
			south	<i>seup</i>	south

¹ Cp. Luick, Untersuchungen, § 383 ff.

ME.	OD.	NE.
thou	<i>ðeu</i> (stressed) <i>ða</i> (unstr)	} thou
thousand	<i>þeusant</i>	
toun	<i>tēun</i>	town
withouten	<i>wiðeut</i>	without.

2. ME. <i>ū</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> before h.		
ME.	OD.	NE.
bough	<i>bēu</i>	bough
plough	<i>plēu</i>	plough.
3. ME. <i>ū</i> = OE. <i>ū</i> + <i>z</i> .		
foul	<i>fēul</i>	fowl
suze	<i>sēu</i>	sow.

B. French Sources.

1. ME. *ū* = AFr. *u* (o) before nasal.

amounte	<i>ameunt</i>	amount
bounde	<i>bēundəri</i>	boundary
count	<i>kēunt</i>	count
counte	<i>kēunti</i>	county
crūne	<i>krēun</i> (<i>krūn</i>)	crown
fount	<i>fēuntin</i>	fountain
goun	<i>geun</i>	gown
mountaine	<i>mēuntin</i>	mountain
ounce	<i>ēuns</i>	ounce
round	<i>rēund</i>	round.

Note: The form *krūn* = crown, is derived direct from the Latin *corona*.

2. ME. *ū* = Fr. *ou*.

aloue	<i>aleu</i>	allow
couche	<i>kētš</i>	couch
doute	<i>dēt</i>	doubt
poudre	<i>pēuder</i> <i>peudār</i>	} powder
route	<i>rēt</i>	
		rout.

C. Scandinavian Sources.

Sc. *ū* = ME. *ū* = OD. *eu* and *euə* before *r*.

boun	<i>bēun</i>	bound
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drūpen	<i>drēup</i>	droop
coure	<i>kēuər</i>	cower, sit down.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 32.

ME. *ū* + *r* gives a triphthong *euər*.

bour	<i>bēuər</i>	bower
couard	<i>kēuər</i> ^d	coward
coure	<i>kēuər</i>	sit down
devouren	<i>divēuər</i>	devour
flour	<i>flēuər</i> (<i>flār</i>)	flower

flour	<i>flēuər</i>	flour
houre	<i>euər</i>	hour
pouér	<i>pēuər</i>	power
schour	<i>šēuər</i>	shower
tour	<i>tēuər</i>	tower.

Note 1. Observe however:

flour	<i>flār</i> (<i>flēuər</i>)	flower.
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Note 2. In cases where literary English has \bar{u} , the OD. has also $e\bar{u}$ (before labial consonants).

ME.	OD.	NE.
drūpen	<i>drēup</i>	droop
roum	<i>rēum</i>	room
stoupe	<i>stēup</i>	stoop

ME.	OD.	NE.
toumbe	<i>teum</i> (<i>tōm</i>)	} tomb
wounde	<i>wēund</i>	
		wound (sb).

Cp. Luick, *Anglia* 16, 501, and for *wound* cp. Horn, *Unters.*, p. 34.

\bar{u} .

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 33.

ME. \bar{u} < OE. \bar{y} always became \bar{r} (cp. § 25, 2) during the ME. period (cf. also $\bar{u} > i$ § 7b) but:

B. French Sources.

ME. \bar{u} = French *u* and *ui* has been mostly retained as $j\bar{u}$ or \bar{u} in the OD.

I. ME. \bar{u} = Fr. *u*.

a) = OD. $j\bar{u}$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
accūse	<i>akjūz</i>	scuse
amūsen	<i>amjūz</i>	amuse
dūc	<i>djū</i>	due
dūke	<i>djūk</i>	duke
excūsen	<i>ekskjūz</i>	excuse
jūse, jūce	<i>džjūs</i> (<i>džūs</i>)	juice
mūsike	<i>mjūzik</i>	musice
prūdence	<i>prjūdāns</i> (<i>prūdāns</i>)	prudence
refūsen	<i>rīfjūz</i>	refuse
rūde	<i>rjūd</i> (<i>rūd</i>)	rude
ūs	<i>jūs</i>	use.

b) = OD. \bar{u} after *r, š, dž*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
jūse, jūce	<i>džūs</i> (<i>džjūs</i>)	juice
prūdence	<i>prūdāns</i> (<i>prjūdāns</i>)	prudence
rūde	<i>rūd</i> (<i>rjūd</i>)	rude
sūgre	<i>šūgər</i> (<i>šugər</i>)	sugar
crūél	<i>krūil</i>	cruel.

c) = OD. $e\bar{u}$.

glūe	<i>dlēu</i>	glue.
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d) = OD. *u*.

sūgre	<i>šugər</i> (<i>šūgər</i>)	sugar.
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ME. *ū* = OFr. *ūi*.

a) = OD. *jū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fruit (frūt)	<i>frjūt</i> (<i>frūt</i>)	fruit
nūisaunce	<i>njūsans</i>	nuisance
pūe	<i>pjū</i>	pew
pursūe	<i>pəʳsjū</i> (<i>pərsū</i>)	pursue
sūite, seūte	<i>sjūt</i> (<i>sūt</i>)	suit.

b) = OD. *ū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fruit (frūt)	<i>frūt</i> (<i>frjūt</i>)	fruit
pursūe	<i>pəʳsū</i> (<i>pəʳsjū</i>)	pursue
sūite, seūte	<i>sūt</i> (<i>sjūt</i>)	suit.

Diphthongs.

ai (*ei*).

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 34.

ME. *ai* (*ei*) has two developments in words of English origin: *ē* before unvoiced consonants, *ēⁱ* before voiced consonants or when final.

1. ME. *ai* (*ei*) = OE. *ē* (*ǣ*)

+ 3.

ME.	OD.	NE.
clai	<i>tleⁱ</i>	clay
dai	<i>dēⁱ</i> (<i>dī</i>)	day
daies-īe	<i>dēⁱzi</i>	daisy.
gray, grey	<i>grēⁱ</i>	grey
hey	<i>ēⁱ</i>	hay
keie	<i>kēⁱ</i>	key

ME.	OD.	NE.
mai	<i>mēⁱ</i>	may
maide	<i>mēⁱden</i>	maiden
nail	<i>nēⁱl</i>	nail
nēie	<i>nēⁱ</i>	to neigh
plaie, pleie	<i>plēⁱ</i>	play
rain, rein	<i>rēⁱn</i>	rain
sail, seil	<i>sēⁱl</i>	sail
sain, sein	<i>sēⁱ</i>	say
way; wey, wei.	<i>wēⁱ</i>	way.

2. ME. *ei* before *ght* (*e* + *ght* = *ei*).

eight	<i>ēⁱt</i>	eight
weight	<i>wēⁱt</i>	weight.

B. French Sources.

ME. *ai* (*ei*) = *ē* before unvoiced consonants, *ēⁱ* before voiced consonants and final as above.

claime	<i>tlēⁱm</i>	claim
compleine	<i>komplēⁱn</i>	complain

delaye	<i>dilēⁱ</i>	delay
faile	<i>fēⁱl</i>	fail
feint	<i>fēⁱnt</i>	faint
maintene	<i>mēⁱntēⁱn</i>	maintain
obeien	<i>obēⁱ</i>	obey
paie	<i>pēⁱ</i>	pay

ME.	OD.	NE.	The development is still the same before Dentals where the lit. language has \bar{i} .		
painte	<i>pēⁱnt</i>	paint	ME.	OD.	NE.
peine	<i>pēⁱn</i>	pain	eise	<i>ēⁱz</i>	ease
plain	<i>plēⁱn</i> (<i>plīn</i>)	plain	pais	<i>pēs</i>	peace
preie	<i>prēⁱ</i>	pray	treiten	<i>trēt</i>	treat.
rail, reil	<i>rēⁱl</i>	rail	Note: Sometimes the \bar{e} or \bar{e}' is shortened.		
reine	<i>rēⁱn</i>	rein			
veile	<i>vēⁱl</i>	veil			
waite	<i>wēt</i>	wait.			

C. Scandinavian Sources.

greiþ-līc	<i>grēⁱdli</i>	properly, suitable	Luick, Arch. CVIII p. 327 ff. and Björkman 298):		
nai	<i>nēⁱ</i>	nay	faik	<i>fēⁱk</i>	fake
thei, they	<i>ðēⁱ</i>	they.	kaiken	<i>kēⁱk</i>	to upset
Also ME. <i>ei</i> + <i>k</i> where the literary language has $\bar{i} < \bar{e}$ (cp.			leik, laik	<i>lēⁱk</i>	to play
			stayke	<i>stēⁱk</i>	steak
			weik, waik	<i>wēⁱk</i>	weak.

Note: ME. *ai*, *ei* (from various sources) $> \bar{i}$, $\bar{i}\bar{a}$.

chaine	<i>tšⁱen</i> (<i>tšen</i>)	chain	leide	<i>līd</i>	laid
dai	<i>dī</i> (<i>dēⁱ</i>)	day	lezen	<i>līn</i>	lain
leie	<i>lī</i>	lay	plain	<i>plīn</i> (<i>plēⁱn</i>)	plain.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 35.

ME. <i>ai</i> (<i>ei</i>) + <i>r</i> = \bar{a}^r .					
afeire	<i>afā^r</i>	affair	feire	<i>fā^r</i>	fair
chaire	<i>tšā^r</i> (<i>tšīā^r</i>)	chair	maire	<i>mā(ə)^r</i>	mayor
deierie	<i>dāri</i> (<i>dāⁱri</i>)	dairy	peir	<i>pā^r</i>	pair
			steir	<i>stā^rz</i> (<i>stīā^rz</i>)	stairs
			theire	<i>dā^r</i>	their.

au.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 36.

ME. <i>au</i> appears in the OD.			ME.	OD.	NE.
as \bar{q} .			lawe	$l\bar{q}$	law
1. ME. <i>au</i> = OE. <i>a</i> + \mathfrak{z} .			sawe	$s\bar{q}$	saw.
ME.	OD.	NE.	2. ME. <i>au</i> = OE. <i>a, ea</i> + <i>w</i> .		
drawe	$dr\bar{q}$	draw	raw	$r\bar{q}$	raw
gnawe	$n\bar{q}$	gnaw	thawe	$\bar{p}\bar{q}$	thaw.
hawe + þorn	$\bar{q}\bar{p}\bar{o}r\bar{n}$	hawthorn			

B. French Sources.

1. ME. <i>au</i> = Fr. <i>au</i> .			3. In other cases <i>au</i> + <i>ndž</i> has given <i>aindž</i> (cp. Luick, Anglia 16, p. 480):		
auter	$\bar{q}te^r$	altar	aungel	$a\bar{i}ndžel$	angel
autour	$\bar{q}\bar{p}\bar{o}r$	author	araungen	$\bar{o}ra\bar{i}ndž$	arrange.
autumpne	$\bar{q}t\bar{a}m$	autumn			
cause	$k\bar{q}z$	cause.			
2. ME. <i>au</i> (<i>a</i>) = Fr <i>a</i> + Nasal > \bar{q} .			4. The following French words have \bar{o} for <i>a(u)</i> .		
avauntage	$\bar{a}dv\bar{q}ntidž$	advantage	auncestres	$onsete^rz$	ancestors
aunt	$\bar{q}nt \cdot (\bar{e}^int)$	aunt	braunche	$brontš$ ($br\bar{q}ntš$)	branch
braunche	$br\bar{q}ntš$	branch	chaump- ioun	$tšompj\bar{o}n$	champion
change	$tš\bar{q}ndž^*$	change	chaunce	$tšons$	chance
dauncen	$d\bar{q}ns$ (<i>dains</i>)	dance	dauncen	$dons$ (<i>dains</i> , <i>d\bar{q}ns</i>)	dance
daunger	$d\bar{q}ndž\bar{o}^*$	danger	graunt	$gron$	grant
straunge	$str\bar{q}ndž^*$	strange.	laumpe	$lomp$	lamp.

* Note: These forms sometimes appear with \bar{o} .

2. Development in Combination.

§ 37.

1. ME. *au* before *ght* = *au*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aught	<i>aut</i>	aught
draught	<i>draut</i>	draught
naught	<i>naut</i>	naught
naughty	<i>nauti</i>	naughty
slaughter	<i>slautər</i>	slaughter.

gh > *f* in the form *lauf* or *lēif* = "laugh" (ME. *laughen*, OE. *hlahhan* (cp. Luick, "Anglia" 16, p. 474 and 492 ff.).

2. ME. *au* before *f*, *v* = *ē* or *ēi*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
sauf	<i>sēif</i>	safe
sauve	<i>sēiv</i>	save.

Note: also *lēif* = *laugh* < ME. *lauzhe* < OE. *hlæhhan*; cp. Horn, Unters. p. 18.

3. ME. *au* = *a*, however, in:

sauvage	<i>savidž</i>	savage.
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ou.

1. Spontaneous Development.

§ 38.

ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = *ō*.

1. ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = OE. *ēo* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blōwe, blēwe	<i>blō</i>	blow

Note: $\left. \begin{array}{l} jō \\ \text{(stressed)} \\ jō \text{ (un-} \\ \text{stressed)} \end{array} \right\} \text{you.}$

3ow

2. ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = OE. *ō* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
flōwe rōwe	<i>flō</i> <i>rō</i>	flow row

Note: $\left. \begin{array}{l} grōwe \\ grū \end{array} \right\} \text{grow.}$

2. Development in Combination.

§ 39.

ME. *ou* + *r* = *ōr*.

four	<i>fōr</i>	four
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Note: $\left. \begin{array}{l} jōr \text{ (unstr)} \\ jōr \\ \text{(stressed)} \end{array} \right\} \text{your.}$

(ēower)
yūre

ou.

1 Spontaneous Development.

§ 40.

I. ME. *ōu* = OD. *ō*.

1. ME. *ōu* (*ōw*) = OE. *ā* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blōwe	blō	blow
crōwe	krō	crow
knōwe	nō	know
slōw	slō	slow
snōw	snō (<i>snū</i>)	snow
sōwe	sō	sow
thrōwe	þrō	throw.

2. ME. *ōu* (*ōw*) = OE. *ā* + *z*.

ōwen	ōn	own.
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3. ME. *ōu* (*ōw*) = OE. *ō* + *z*.

bōwe	bō	bow.
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II. ME. *ōu* = OD. *au* in the following.

ME.	OD.	NE.
lōw	lau	low
mōwe	mau (<i>mū</i> , <i>muf</i>)	mow
sōule	saul	soul.

III. ME. *ōu* = *ū* in the following.

mōwe	mū (<i>mau</i> , <i>mow</i> <i>muf</i>)
snōwe	snū (<i>snō</i>) snow.

2. Development in Combination.

§ 41.

1. ME. *ōu* + *gh* = *auf*.

cough	kauf	cough
dough	dauf	dough
tough	tauf	tough
trough	trauf	trough.

brought	braut	brought
doughter	dauter	daughter
drought	draut	drought
fought	faut	fought
soughte	saut	sought
thoughte	þaut	thought.

2. ME. *ōu* + *ght* = *aut*.
(= OE. *oh*).

boughthe	baut	bought
----------	------	--------

eu.

1. Spontaneous Development.

§ 42.

ME. *eu* = OD. *jū* or *ū*, after
d = *džū*.

I. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw*.

a) = OD. *jū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
dēw	džū	dew
fēwe	fjū	few
hēwe	hjū	hew.

b) = OD. *ū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schrēwe	šrū	shrew.

c) = OD. *ō*.

schēwe (ou)	šō	show.
-------------	----	-------

II. ME. *eu* = OE. *cow* =

OD. *jū*.

ēwe	jū	ewe.
-----	----	------

eu.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 43.

ME. *eu* > OD. *eu*, *jū*, *ū*.

1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēow*.

a) = OD. *eu*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blēw	bleu	blew
brēwe	brēu (brū)	brew
chēwe	tšeu	chew
clēwe	tļeu	clue
grēw	grēu (grū)	grew
trēuthe	trēuþ	truth.

b) = OD. *jū*.

knēw	njū	knew
------	-----	------

ME. OD. NE.

nēwe	njū	new
ēw	jū	yew.

c) = OD. *ū*, mostly after *r* as
a byeform with *eu*.

brēwe	brū (brēu)	brew
grēw	grū (grēu)	grew.
rēwe	rū	rue.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *īw* =

OD. *jū*.

spēwe	spjū	spew.
-------	------	-------

B. French Sources.

1. ME. *eu* = Fr. *eu* = OD.
eu and *ū*.

a) = OD. *eu*.

blēw	bleu	blue
rēule	rēul	rule.

b) = OD. *ū* after *r*.

Hebrēu	ībrū	Hebrew.
--------	------	---------

2. ME. *ēu* = Fr. *iu* =

OD. *ū*.

Jēw	Džū	Jew.
-----	-----	------

oi (ui).

1. Spontaneous Development.

§ 44.

Nearly all the words in *oi (ui)* in ME. come from Old French. In the OD. this sound is represented either by *oi* or *ai*. Cp. Luick, "Anglia" 14, 294 ff.

A. French Sources.

1. ME. *oi (ui)* = Fr. *oi (ui)*.

a) = OD. <i>oi</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
anoye,	<i>anoi</i>	annoy
anuye		
apointen	<i>apoint</i>	appoint
avoide	<i>avoid</i>	avoid
coin	<i>koin</i>	coin
coi	<i>koi</i>	coy
emploien	<i>imploi</i>	employ
joie	<i>džoi</i>	joy
moiste	<i>moist</i>	moist
oinement	<i>ointmēt</i>	ointment
poise, peise	<i>poiz</i>	to kick
rejoissen	<i>ridžois</i>	rejoice
toilen	<i>toil</i>	toil (vb).

b) = OD. *oi* or *ai*.

broile	<i>broil, brail</i>	broil
choise	<i>tšois, tšeis</i>	choice
disapointen	<i>dizapoint</i> <i>dizapoint</i>	disappoint
destruien	<i>distroi</i> <i>distræi</i>	
joint	<i>dzoint,</i> <i>dzaint</i>	joint

ME.	OD.	NE.
noise	<i>noiz, nēiz</i>	noise
oile	<i>oil, ail</i>	oil
oistre	<i>oistər,</i> <i>aisdər</i>	oyster
point	<i>point,</i> <i>paint</i>	point
spoile	<i>spail</i>	spoil
vois	<i>vois, vais</i>	voice.

c) = OD. *ai*.

boile, boyle	<i>bail</i>	boil
joine	<i>dzain</i>	join
puisoun	<i>pæizn</i>	poison.

2. ME. *oi* from other French Sources.

OD. *oi* or *ai*.

loine	<i>loin, lāin</i>	loin
(OF. logne, MF. longe)		
soile	<i>soil, sail</i>	soil (sb).
(OF. soel, MF. sueil)		

B. ME. *oi* from Non-French Sources.

boie	<i>boi</i>	boy	loiteren	<i>loitər</i>	loiter.
boistrous	<i>boistərəs</i>	boisterous			



C. OD. *oi* from Unknown Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
	<i>boi</i>	buoy		<i>toi</i>	toy.
	<i>foist, faist</i>	to stink ¹			

SECTION II.

THE SHORTENING IN THE OLDHAM DIALECT OF ME.
LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

ē.

§ 45.

1. ME. *ē* has been shortened during the ME. period in the following.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *æ* and *ē*:

ME.	OD.	NE.
edder	<i>edðar</i>	adder
het	<i>het</i>	named
leste	<i>les</i>	lest.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *ēa*.

bet	<i>bet</i>	} beaten
	<i>(bjet)</i>	
flē-	<i>flek</i>	
	<i>(fleik)</i>	flea
shrede	<i>šred</i>	shred.

c) ME. = OE. *ēo*.

bent	<i>bent</i>	coarse grass.
------	-------------	------------------

2. ME. *ē* = OE. *ēa* (*ai* + *i*, *j*) = shortened OD. *ē*.

chēp	<i>tšep(tšēap)</i>	cheap
drēm	<i>drem</i>	dream
	<i>(drīam)</i>	
lēd	<i>led</i>	lead (sb).

ME.	OD.	NE.
rēd	<i>red</i>	red
prēt	<i>pret</i>	threat.

3. ME. *ē* = OE. *æ* (*ai* + *i*, *j*).

clēne	<i>tlen(tlīan)</i>	clean
rēdi	<i>redi</i>	ready.

4. Also the following ME. *ē* from French Sources.

fēsaunt	<i>feznt</i>	pheasant
plēse	<i>plez(plīez)</i>	please
plēsüre	<i>plezər</i>	pleasure
rēsoun	<i>rezn</i>	reason.

5. ME. *ē* = OE. *ēo* = OD. *ē*.

brēt	<i>br̄est</i>	breast
frēnd	<i>frend</i>	friend.

6. ME. *ē* — *ē* = OE. *æ* from. W. G. *ā* = OD. *ē*.

drēde	<i>dred</i>	dread.
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7. ME. *ē* (Medium *e*) = OE. *ē* in open syllables = OD. *ē* (perhaps OE. *ē* preserved).

frēte	<i>fret</i>	fret
knēde	<i>ned(nēd)</i>	knead.

¹ Cp. NED., and Horn, Untersuchungen, p. 91.

I.

§ 46.

ME. *ī* = *ī* in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
Whītstāre	<i>hwitstār</i>	bleacher
wīnberi	<i>wimbri</i>	bilberry
hwītsundei	<i>Wissæn</i>	Whit- sunday.

Note: OE. *īc* = ME. *ī* has a special development in the OD., having become *ō* in accented and *ǣ* in unaccented positions.

Q.

§ 47.

ME. *ō* has been shortened to *o* in the following.

ME.	OD.	NE.
*brōken	<i>brok(n)</i>	broken
cōmb	<i>kom</i>	comb
hōlidāi	<i>holidi</i>	holiday

ME.	OD.	NE.
*ōpen	<i>opn</i>	open
*spōken	<i>spokn</i>	spoken
tōken	<i>tokn</i>	token
*(weven)	<i>wov(n)</i>	woven.
wōven		

* Original *ō* seems to be preserved in above.

Q.

§ 48.

1. ME. *ō* > *ū* has been shortened to *ū* in the following (cp. also § 29, 3).

ME.	OD.	NE.
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
bōsum	<i>buzm</i>	bosom
brōðer	<i>bruðār</i>	brother
dōn	<i>dun (dȳn)</i>	done
flōd	<i>flud</i>	flood
gōd	<i>gud</i>	good
glōve	<i>dluv</i>	glove

ME.	OD.	NE.
hōd	<i>hud</i>	hood
stōd	<i>stud</i>	stood
twōpens	<i>tupens</i>	twopence.

2. ME. *ō* has been shortened to *ō* (in the ME. period) in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
ōther	<i>odār</i>	other
Mōnendai	<i>Mondi</i>	Monday
fodder	<i>fodār</i>	fodder.

ū.

§ 49.

ME. *ū* has been shortened to *u* in the following (before *m*, *n* and *ŋ* = *u*).

ME.	OD.	NE.
croume	<i>krum</i>	crumb
crūnen	<i>krunæ</i> (<i>krunær</i>)	coroner
dūke	<i>duk</i>	duck
dūve	<i>duv</i>	dove
grūnd	<i>grun</i> (<i>greund</i>)	ground
hūswif	<i>huzi</i>	hussy
ploume	<i>plum</i>	plum

ME.	OD.	NE.
pouke	<i>puk</i>	puck
schouve	<i>šuv</i>	shove
scūm	<i>skum</i>	scum
souke	<i>suk</i>	suck
sūpen	<i>sup</i>	sup-, drink
pūme	<i>pum</i>	thumb
ūle + let	<i>ulært</i>	owlet.

Note: ME. *ū* has been preserved as *ū* in:

rough	<i>rūf</i>	rough
inough	<i>ænūf</i>	enough.

ai (ei).

§ 50.

In the following words ME. *ai (ei)* has been shortened to *e*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
agein	<i>ægen</i>	again
ageinest	<i>ægen</i>	against

ME.	OD.	NE.
chaine	<i>tšen(tšīan)</i>	chain
plaise	<i>plez</i>	please
saide	<i>sed</i>	said
seies	<i>sez</i>	says.

SECTION III.

SUMMARY OF THE ME. VOWELS IN COMBINATION.

I. Vowels before *l*.

§ 51.

1. Before *l* final.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>a</i> > <i>ō</i> (<i>l</i> dropped).		
al	<i>ō</i>	all.
<i>o</i> > <i>ou</i> (<i>l</i> dropped).		
tol	<i>ou</i>	toll.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>u</i> > <i>ū</i> (<i>l</i> dropped).		
ful	<i>fū</i>	full.
<i>ǣ</i> > <i>au</i> .		
sōle	<i>saul</i>	sole.

Note: For *ǣ* > *oi* cp. § 27, IV.

2. Before *l* + Consonant.

a) Before *ld*.

u > *ū* with dropping of *l*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schulder	šūđar, šūđar (šilder)	shoulder.

q̄ > *au* with dropping of *l*.

bōld	baud	bold.
------	------	-------

b) Before *lt*.

a > *q̄* with dropping of *l*.

faltren	fq̄ter	falter.
---------	--------	---------

o > *ou* with dropping of *l*.

bolt	bout	bolt.
------	------	-------

u > *ū* with dropping of *l*.

culter	kūter	plough- share.
--------	-------	-------------------

c) Before *lk*.

a > *q̄* (*l* dropped).

balk	bq̄k	log of timber.
------	------	-------------------

o > *q̄* (*l* dropped).

ME.	OD.	NE.
folc	fōk (fok)	folk.

Note: *u* remains *u*.

hulke	ulk	hulk.
-------	-----	-------

d) Before *ls*.

a > *q̄* with dropping of *l*

fals	fqs	false.
------	-----	--------

o > *ou* with dropping of *l*.

bolster	boustar	bolster.
---------	---------	----------

e) Before *lf*.

a > *q̄* with dropping of *l*.

calf	kqv	calf.
------	-----	-------

f) Before *lm*.

a > *q̄* with dropping of *fl*.

halm	hqm	handle of an axe.
------	-----	----------------------

II. Vowels before *r*.

[*ar* > *ār*.]

dar	dār	dare.
-----	-----	-------

er > *ār*, *er*, *ār*.

hert	hārt	heart
------	------	-------

gers	gers	grass
------	------	-------

lernen	lār'n	learn.
--------	-------	--------

ir > a) *ār* in closed syllables.

wirchen	wārtš	work (vb).
---------	-------	------------

> b) *ār* (rare).

kirnel	kā'nel	kernel.
--------	--------	---------

or > a) *q̄r*.

ord	q̄rts	broken victuals.
-----	-------	---------------------

> b) *ār*.

corn	kār'n	corn.
------	-------	-------

ur > *ār*.

burre	bār	a sticky plant.
-------	-----	--------------------

ār > *ār* (very long).

hāre	hār	hare.
------	-----	-------

ēr (OE. *ē* [*ō* + *i, j*]) > a) *īār*.

wēriž	wīari	weary.
-------	-------	--------

> b) *ēār*.

wēry	wēār'i	weary.
------	--------	--------

ēr (OE. *ē* = WG. final) > *īār*.

hēre	īār	here.
------	-----	-------

ēr (OE. *ēo*) > *īār*.

bēr	bīār	bear.
-----	------	-------

ēr before Consonant (Fr.) > *īār*.

fērs	fīār's	fierce.
------	--------	---------

ēr final (Fr.) > a) *aiər*.
ME. OD. NE.

quēr *kwaier* choir.

b) *īər*.

chēre *tšīər* cheer.

ēr (*ē* -- *ē*) (= WG. *ā*).

a) > *īər*.

bēre *bīər* bier.

b) > *ər*.

wēre *wər* (*wīər*) were.

ēr (Medium *ē*).

a) > *īər*.

schēre *šīər* shear.

b) > *ēər*.

bēre *bēər* bear (sb).

c) > *ər*.

pēre *pər* (*pēər*) pear.

īr > *aiər* or *īər*.

ME. OD. NE.

fīr *fīər* fire.

ōr > a) *ūər*.

mōre *mūər* more.

> b) *ōr*, *ōər* (scarce).

bōren *bōrn* born.

ōr > *ūər*.

flōr *flūər* floor.

ūr > *ēūr*.

flour *fleūr* flower.
(*flər*)

air (*eir*) > *ər* (*īər*).

steir *stər*z stairs.
(*stīər*z)

our > *ōər*.

four *fōər* four.

III. Vowels before *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

a > *o* (except when *w* precedes).

ram *rom* ram

man *mon* man

ranc *ronk* rank.

o > *u* before *ŋ*.

belongen *bilunŋ* belong.

au > *ai* before *ndž*.

aungel *aindžel* angel.

e > *i* before *ŋg*, *ndž*.

English *ingliš* English
henge *indž* hinge.

IV. Vowels before *gh*.

au > *ēi*.

laughen *lēif* laugh.

ou > a) *au*, *ū*, *u* (with change of *gh* to *f* or loss thereof).

tough *tauf* tough

rough *rū*, *rūf* rough

slough *sluf*, *slau* slough.

o > *ō*, *au*.

trogh *trōf*, *trauf* trongh.

χt > *īt*.

bright *brīt* bright.

quχt > *aut*.

fought *faut* fought.

V. Vowels before *f*, *v*.

au > a) *ē*, *ēi*.

sauf *sēif* safe.

sauve *sēiv* save.

> b) *a*.

sauvage *savidž* savage.

VI. Vowels before š.

ai > *ai*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
dasshe	<i>daiš</i>	dash.

Note: For *e* < *a* before *š* cp. § 4, 5.

i > *ī*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fisch	<i>fīš</i>	fish.

Note: I have not come across the change *u* > *uī* before *š* noted by Hargreaves (§ 34, c, Note) in the OD.

ü > *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
prüssche	<i>pruš</i>	thrush.

Appendix to Chapter II.

Sources of the Oldham Vowels.

I. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 52.

1. Oldham *a* mostly corresponds to ME. *a*.

1. ME. *a*.

- a) OE. *a* (§ 3, A, a, 1) *arə* arrow, *ban* curse, *gam* game.
- b) OE. *æ* (§ 3, A, a, 2) *baliz* bellows, *daft* silly, *rafðar* rafter.
- c) OE. *ea* (§ 3, A, a, 3) *galəsiz* braces, *narə* narrow.
- d) OE. *ā* (§ 3, A, b) *aks* ask, *atðar* *krop* spider.
- e) OE. *æ* (§ 3, A, c) *ani* any, *ladðar* ladder, *mad* mad, angry.
- f) OE. *ēa* (§ 3, A, d) *tšap* chap, *tšafər* (to) haggle, *ladər* (*lodər*) lather.
- g) Scand. *a* (§ 3, B) *farəntli* handsomely, *kaŋk* (*koŋk*) a gossiping conversation.
- h) Celtic *a* (§ 3, C) *brat* coarse apron, *kamd* cross-tempered.
- i) French *a* (*ā*) in open syllables, unaccented in OFr. (AFr.) (§ 3, D, a) *barəl* barrel, *damidž* damage, *pariš* parish.
- j) French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables unaccented in OFr. (AFr.), (§ 3, D, b) *katš* catch, *mantī* mantle.

k) French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables accented in OFr. (AFr.)
(§ 3, D, c) *ant* aunt, *tšans* (*tšons*) chance.

2. ME. *au*.

a) French *au* (§ 37, 3) *savidž* savage.

e.

§ 53.

Oldham *e* in most cases corresponds to ME. *e*.

1. ME. *e*.

a) OE. *e*, *eo* (§ 5, A, a) *betdār* better, *frem* not akin, *wentš* girl.

b) Scand. *e* (§ 5, B) *deg* cut off, *feli* fellow.

c) French *e*, *e*, *ē*, accented, (§ 5, C, a) *lekšan* election, *fent* remnant of cloth.

d) French *e*, *e*, *ē*, secondary accent, (§ 5, C, b) *bebridž* beverage.

e) OE. *a* (§ 6, 2) *weš* wash, (§ 4, 5) *-es* ashes.

2. ME. *i* before *r* in open syllables.

a) OE. *y* (§ 8, 1, b) *beri* bury, *werit* (*warit*) worry.

b) Fr. *y* (§ 7, C, b) *serap* syrup.

[c) Fr. *e* (§ 7, C, b) *sperit* spirit.]

3. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *æ*, *ē* (§ 45, 1, a) *eddār* adder, *les* lest.

b) OE. *ēa* (§ 45, 1, b) *bet* beaten, *flek* flea.

c) OE. *ēo* (§ 45, 1, c) *bent* coarse grass.

d) OE. *ēa* (*au* + *i*, *j*) (§ 45, 2) *tšep* cheap, *drem* dream.

e) OE. *æ* (*ai* + *i*, *j*) (§ 45, 3) *tlen* clean, *redi* ready.

f) Fr. *ai* (§ 45, 4) *feznt* pheasant, *plezər* pleasure.

4. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *ēo* (§ 45, 5) *brest* breast, *frend* friend.

5. ME. *ē* — *ē*.

a) OE. *æ* from WG. *ā* (§ 45, 6) *dred* dread.

6. ME. *ē* (medium *e*).

a) OE. *ē* in open syllables (§ 45, 7) *fret* fret, *ned* knead.

7. ME. *ai* (*ei*) (§ 50).

a) OE. *e* + *z* *ægen* again, against.

b) OE. *æ* + *z* *sed* said, *sez* says.

c) Fr. *ai* *tšen* chain, *plez* please.

***i*.**

§ 54.

Oldham *i* mostly corresponds to ME. *i*.

1. ME. *i*.

a) OE. *i* (§ 7, A, a) *brid* bird, *wik* lively, *kist* chest.

b) OE. *y* (§ 7, A, b) *bizi* busy, *mitš* much, *šildær* shoulder.

c) Scand. *i* (§ 7, B) *blinkært* blind of one eye, *kipær* amorous.

d) Scand. *y* (§ 7, B) *big* build, *klink* a blow.

e) Fr. *i*, *î* (§ 7, C) *džilivær* gilly flower, *nift* to be fastidious.

2. ME. *u*.

a) OE. *u* (§ 12, 2) *šildær* shoulder.

3. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *ēo* (§ 18, 3, d) *diol* devil, *sik* sick.

4. ME. *ē* — *ē̄*.

a) OE. *ē*, *ǣ* (§ 20, e) *istid* instead, *ridl* riddle.

5. ME. *ī*.

a) OE. *ȳ* (§ 25, 2, d) *litt* little, *þimbl* thimble.

b) OE. *ī* (§ 46) *wimbri* billerry, *Wissæn* Whitsunday.

***o*.**

§ 55.

Oldham *o* mostly corresponds to ME. *o*.

1. ME.

a) OE. *o* (§ 9, A, a) *brosn* burst, *kroft* field.

b) OE. *eo* (§ 9, A, c) *jon(d)* yonder.

c) Scand. *o* (§ 9, B) *glopn* astonish.

d) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 9, C) *lolopin* awkward, *nokalz* knuckles.

- e) French *o* (*o*) (accented) (§ 9, D, a) *komikəl* comical, *rokit* au outer garment.
- f) French *o* (*o*) (unaccented) (§ 9, D, b) *konsēt* conceit, *os* try.
- g) Celtic *o* (§ 9, E) *bob* to dance about, *fog* grass after mowing.
- 2. ME. *a*.
 - a) OE. *ēa* (§ 3, 1, d) *lođār* lather.
 - b) OE. *a* before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (§ 4, 4) *mon* man, *rom* ram.
 - c) Fr. *a* before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (§ 4, 4) *plonk* plank.
- 3. ME. *u*.
 - a) OE. *u* (§ 11, E, Note) *kom* (*kum*) come, *sombri* somebody.
 - b) Fr. *u* (§ 11, E, Note) *komfərt* (*kumfərt*) comfort.
- 4. ME. *ē*.
 - a) OE. *æ* [Germ. *ai* + *i*, *j*] (§ 16, 2, d) *swot* sweat.
- 5. ME. *ō*.
 - a) OE. *ā* (§ 27, III) *wom* (*wum*) home, *wot* hot.
 - b) OE. *o* (§ 47) *broken* broken, *opn* open.
- 6. ME. *au* (*a*) (§ 36, b, 4).
 - a) Fr. *a* *brontš* (*brōnts*) branch. *strondž* (*strōndž*) strange.
- 7. ME. *ō*.
 - a) ME. *ō* (§ 48, 2) *ođār* other, *Mondi* Monday.

u.

§ 56.

Oldham *u* mostly corresponds to ME. *u*.

- 1. ME. *u*.
 - a) OE. *u* (§ 11, A, 1) *butđār* butter, *kubərt* cupboard.
 - b) OE. *y* (§ 11, A, 2) *krutš* crutch, *šut* shut.
 - c) Scand. *u* (§ 11, B) *pufl* to breathe with difficulty.
 - d) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 11, C) *slut* a slovenly woman.
 - e) French *u* (*ou*) (§ 11, D) *bulš* bulge, *muz* month.
 - f) Celtic *u* (§ 11, E) *krud* curds.
- 2. ME. *ü*.
 - a) OE. *y* (§ 13, A) *pruš* thrush.
 - b) French *u* (§ 13, B) *džust* just, *studi* study.

3. ME. \bar{o} (§ 29, 3) *buk* (*būk*) book, *luk* (*lūk*) look.

a) OE. \bar{o} (§ 48, 1) *blud* blood, *stūd* stood.

b) OE. \bar{a} (§ 48, 1) *tupæns*, twopence.

4. ME. \bar{u} .

a) OE. \bar{u} (§ 49) *duv* dove, *šuv* shove.

b) OE. \bar{u} (§ 49) *grun* ground.

c) Sc. \bar{u} (§ 49) *puk* puck.

d) A.-French *u* (§ 49) *krunəʀ* (*krūnəʀ*) coroner.

5. ME. \bar{u} .

a) Fr. *u* (§ 33, d) *šugə* (*šūgəʀ*) sugar.

U.

§ 57.

Oldham *u* corresponds mostly to ME. *u* before *m*, *n*, η .

1. ME. *u*.

a) OE. *u* (§ 11, A, 1) *kum̃n* come (ppl.), *druñken* drunk.

b) OE. *y* (§ 11, A, 2) *bundl* bundle [cp. Arch. 106, p. 37].

c) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 11, C) *plump* straight to the point.

d) French *o* (§ 11, D) *gum* gum, *sum* sum.

2. ME. \bar{u} .

a) OE. *y* (§ 13, A) *bundl* bundle.

b) Fr. *u* (§ 13, B) *um̃bl* humble, *puñiʃh* punish.

3. ME. \bar{o} .

a) OE. \bar{a} (§ 27, III) *wyl* whole, *wuts* oats.

4. ME. \bar{o} (§ 48).

a) OE. \bar{o} *dun* done.

5. ME. *o* before η .

a) OE. *a* (§ 10, 2) *aluñg* along, *luñg* long.

[b) Sc. *e* (§ 10, 2) *duñg* struck.]

6. ME. \bar{u} before *m*, *n*, η .

a) OE. \bar{u} (§ 49) *krum̃* crumb, *gruñ* ground.

b) Scand. \bar{u} (§ 49) *skum̃* scum.

c) AFr. \bar{u} (§ 49) *kruñəʀ* coroner.

ə.

§ 58.

Oldham ə corresponds mostly to ME. *i* before *r* in closed syllables.

1. ME. *i* before *r* (§ 8, 1).

- a) OE. *y bær̥l* (*bær̥l*) to pour out, *wær̥tš* work (vb).
- b) Scand. *y bǣr* velocity, force.
- c) Fr. *u ǣrt* hurt, *pǣrdž* purge.

2. ME. *e* before *r* final or in closed syllables.

- a) OE. *æ* (§ 6, b) *gær̥s* grass.
- b) Fr. *e* (§ 6, b) *jær̥st* hearse, *tær̥abl* terrible.

3. ME. *o* before *r* (§ 10, 1, b).

- a) OE. *o* (*h*)*ǣrn* horn, *mær̥p* a great quantity.
- b) Fr. *o kær̥el* coral.

4. ME. *u* before *r* (§ 12, 1).

- a) OE. *y wær̥it* (*werit*) worry.
- b) Scand. *u bǣr* a sticky plant.

II. Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 59.

Oldham ā mostly corresponds to ME. *e* before *r*.

1. ME. *e* (§ 6, 1 c).

- a) OE. *a kār* low-lying marsh.
- b) OE. *ea dār̥k* blind, (*h*)*ār̥k* listen.
- c) OE. *e skār* a rocky place, *stār̥t*.
- d) OE. *eo kār̥v* (*kār̥v*) carve, *lār̥n* learn, teach.
- e) Fr. *e sār̥tin* certain, *mār̥si* mercy.

2. ME. *i* before *r* (§ 8, 1, c).

- a) OE. *i pār̥d* third, *pār̥ti* thirty.
- b) OE. *y kār̥nel* kernel.

3. ME. \bar{e} before r (§ 24).

a) OE. \bar{x} *jārli* early.

4. ME. a + final s (§ 4, 6, Note 2).

a) OE. a *dlās* glass, *lās* lass.

Note: The above are also found with \bar{a} .

\bar{e} .

§ 60.

Oldham \bar{e} mostly corresponds to ME. \bar{a} when final or before voiced consonants.

1. ME. \bar{a} .

a) OE. \bar{a} (§ 14, A, a, 1) *ēk* ache, *hēt* hate.

b) OE. *ea* (§ 14, A, b) *gēt* gate.

c) OE. $\bar{æ}$ (§ 14, A, c) *mēpl* maple, *wēt(d)ar* water.

d) Scand. a (§ 14 B) *gēp* gape, *gēt* way, road.

e) Fr. a (§ 14, C) *bēkn* bacon, *fēs* face.

2. ME. \bar{e} .

a) OE. $\bar{e}a$ (§ 16, A, 1, c) *ēstār* (*ēsþeʳ*) Easter, *grēt* great.

b) OE. \bar{x} (§ 16, A, 2, b) *sē* sea, *tētš* teach.

c) Fr. *ai*, *ei* (§ 16, B, I) *ēz* ease, *ēgl* eagle, *ēgər* eager.

d) Fr. e (§ 16, B, II a) *disēv* deceive, *prēts* preach.

Fr. e (§ 18, B, 5, c) *obēdiant* obedient, *spēšl* special.

3. ME. \bar{e} .

a) OE. $\bar{e}o$ (§ 18, A, 3, c) *dēl* devil, *lēf* lief.

b) OE. e (§ 18, A, 5, b) *fēlt* field.

4. ME. \bar{e} — \bar{e} from W. Germ. \bar{a} .

a) (§ 20 A, 1, c) *spētš* speech.

5. ME. Medium \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} in open syllables.

a) OE. \bar{e} (§ 22, b) *brēk* break, *spēk* speak.

6. ME. *ai*, *ei* before unvoiced consonants.

a) OE. (§ 34, A, 2) *ēt* eight.

b) Scand. $\bar{æ}$ *wēt* weight.

c) Fr. *ai* (§ 34, B) *wēt* wait, *trēt* treat.

7. ME. *au* before f .

a) Fr. *au* (§ 37, 2) *sēf* safe.

I.

§ 61.

Oldham *ī* mostly corresponds to ME. *ē*.

1. ME. *ē* (from all sources).

- a) OE. *ē*, *æ* (§ 18, A, 1, a) *fīd* feed, *gīs* geese.
- b) OE. *ē* (§ 18, A, 2, a) *ī* he, *wī* we.
- c) OE. *ēo* (§ 18, A, 3, a) *dēp* deep, *þīf* thief.
- d) OE. *ē* (*ea* + *i*) (§ 18, A, 4, a) *šīt* sheet, *stīpə* steeple.
- e) OE. *ē* (§ 18, A, 5, a) *fīlt* field, *jīld* yield.
- f) Fr. *é* (§ 18, B, 1) *əgri* agree, *līdžənd* legend.
- g) Fr. *ie* (§ 18, B, 2) *tšīf* chief.
- h) Fr. *e* (§ 18, B, 5) *diḡrī* degree.

2. ME. *i* + *ght* (*χt*) (§ 8, 2).

- a) OE. *i* *nīt* night, *rīt* right.
- b) OE. *eo* *lītnin* lightening, *brīt* bright.
- c) OE. *y*: *frītn* frighten.

3. ME. *i* + *š* (§ 8, 3).

- a) OE. *i* *dīš* dish, *fīš* fish.
- b) OE. *y* *wīš* wish.

4. ME. *ē*.

- a) OE. *ēa* (§ 16, A, 1, b) *īst* east, *stīp* steep.
- b) OE. *æ* (§ 16, A, 2, c) *sī* sea.
- c) French *ai* (§ 16, B, I, c) *fīt* feat, *plīd* plead.
- d) Fr. *e* (§ 16, B, II, c) *əpīl* appeal, *sīs* cease.

5. ME. *ē* — *ē* from WG. *ā*.

- a) OE. *ē* (§ 20, A, 1, b) *grīdi* greedy, *sīd* seed.

6. ME. Medium *ē*.

- a) OE. *ē* (§ 22, c) *brīkfəst* breakfast, *līt* let.

7. ME. *ī*.

- a) OE. *y* (§ 25, A, 2, c) *tīn* shut, *wīs* wish.

8. ME. *ai*, *ei* (§ 34, Note).

a) OE. *æ* + *z* *d̄i* day.

b) OE. *e* + *z* *l̄id* laid, *l̄i* lay.

c) Fr. *ai* *pl̄in* plain.

Q̄.

§ 62.

Oldham *q̄* mostly corresponds to ME. *o*.

1. ME. *o* before *r* (§ 10, 1, a).

a) OE. *o* *m̄r̄n* morning, *q̄r̄ts* broken victuals.

b) Fr. *o* *kw̄r̄d* cord, *f̄q̄rtin* fortune.

2. ME. + NE final *l* (§ 4, 1, Note).

a) OE. *a*, *ea*: *q̄* all, *k̄q̄* call, *f̄q̄* fall.

b) Fr. *a*: *b̄q̄* ball.

The above also appear with *q̄*.

3. ME. *a* + *l* before *f* (§ 4, 2), *m*, *k*, *s*, *t* (§ 4, 3).

a) OE. *a*, *ea* *k̄q̄v* calf, *q̄v* half.

(*h*)*q̄m* handle of an axe, *m̄q̄t* malt.

b) Fr. *a*: *f̄q̄s* sly, cunning.

4. ME. *q̄* before *r* (§ 28, 2).

a) OE. *o* *b̄q̄r̄n* born.

5. ME. *au*.

a) OE. *a* + *z* (§ 36, A, 1) *dr̄q̄* draw, *l̄q̄* law.

b) OE. *a*, *ea* + *w* (§ 36, A, 2) *r̄q̄* raw, *p̄q̄* thaw.

c) Fr. *au* (§ 36, B, 1) *q̄t̄ar̄* altar, *q̄t̄am* autumn.

d) Fr. *a* + *Nasal* (§ 36, B, 2) *br̄q̄nts* branch.

Q̄.

§ 63.

Oldham *q̄* mostly corresponds to ME. *qu*.

1. ME *qu*.

a) OE. *ā* + *w* (§ 40, I, 1) *kr̄q̄* crow, *sl̄q̄* slow.

b) OE. *ā* + *z* (§ 40, I, 2) *q̄n* own.

c) OE. *ō* + *z* (§ 40, I, 3) *b̄q̄* bow.

2. ME. *a* + NE. final *l* (§ 4, 1).

ō all, *kō* call, *fō* fall.

Note: The above also appear with *ȝ*.

3. ME. *ȝ* (§ 27, II).

a) OE. *ā* *arȝz* arose, *gȝt* goat.

b) OE. *o* *hȝp* hope.

c) Fr. *o* *brȝtš* broach, *nȝtis* notice.

4. ME. *ou*.

a) OE. *ēo* + *w* (§ 38, 1) *blō* blow.

b) OE. *ȝ* + *w* (§ 38, 2) *flȝ* flow, *rȝ* row.

5. ME. *o* + *lk* (§ 10, 3, b).

a) OE. *o* *fȝk* (*fok*) folk.

b) OE. *eo* *jȝk* yolk.

ū (*jū*).

§ 64.

Oldham *ū* mostly corresponds to ME. *ȝ*.

1. ME. *ȝ*.

a) OE. *ȝ* (§ 29, A, 1, a) *brūm* broom, *dū* do.

b) OE. *ā* (§ 29, A, 1, b) *hū* who, *wūm* womb.

c) Fr. *ō* (§ 29, B) *apruv* approve, *mūv* move.

2. ME. *u* + *l* final or before *l*, *d*, *t* (§ 12, 2).

a) OE. *u* *kūtār* ploughshare, *pū* pull.

b) Scand. *u* *būdār* boulder.

3. ME. *ē* (§ 18, A, 3, e).

a) OE. *ēo* *djūl* devil.

4. ME. *ū*.

a) Fr. *u* (§ 33, B, I, a and b) *džūs* juice, *jūs* use.

b) Fr. *üi* (§ 33, B, II a and b) *frūt* fruit, *sjūt* suit.

5. ME. *ou* (rare).

a) OE. *ȝ* (§ 38, 2, Note) *grū* grow.

6. ME. *qu* (§ 40, 3).

a) OE. *ā* + *w* *mū* mow, *snū* snow.

7. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēa* + *w* (§ 42, I, a and b) *fjū* few, *šrū* shrew.
- b) OE. *eow* (§ 42, II) *jū* ewe.

8. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēow* (§ 43, A, 1, b) *njū* new, *jū* yew.
- b) OE. *ēow* after *r* (§ 43, A, 1 c) *brū* brew, *grū* grew.

Note: These also appear with *eu*.

- c) OE. *īw* (§ 43, A, 2) *spjū* spew.
- d) Fr. *eu* (§ 43, B, 1, b) *ībrū* Hebrew.
- e) Fr. *iu* (§ 43, B, 2) *Džū* Jew.

ē.

§ 65.

Oldham *ē* only occurs before *r*.

1. ME. *e* + *r* (§ 6, 1, a).

- a) OE. *e*, *eo* *kēr̃n* churn, *dēr̃n* darn.
bēr̃m barm, *hēr̃t* heart.

2. ME. *i* + *r* (§ 8, 1) in closed syllables.

- a) OE. *y* *bēr̃l* to pour ont, *wēr̃m* worm.
- b) Scand. *y* *bēr̃* velocity, *fēr̃bobz* fircones.
- c) Fr. *u* *ēr̃t* hurt, *pēr̃dž* purge.

Note: The above also occur with *ě*.

3. ME. *o* + *r* (§ 10, 1, b).

- a) OE. *o* *kēr̃n* corn, *pēr̃n* thorn.
- b) Fr. *o* *fēr̃tin*.

4. ME. *u* + *r* (§ 12, 1).

- a) OE. *u* *hēr̃st* wood, grove, *uēr̃tš* work.
- b) Scand. *u* *bēr̃* a sticky plant, *(h)ēr̃* to purr.

Note: The above also occur with *ě*.

5. ME. *ā* + *r* (§ 15).

- a) GE. *a* *fēr̃* fare, *stēr̃* stare.

6. ME. *ē* — *ē* + *r* (§ 21, 2).

- a) OE. *æ* *uēr̃* were, *uēr̃* (*wīēr̃*) where.

7. ME. Medium \bar{e} + r (§ 23, 1, c).

a) OE. \bar{e} $b\bar{e}r$ bear, $p\bar{e}r$ pear.

8. ME. \bar{u} + r (rare) (§ 32).

a) Fr. ou : $f\bar{e}r$ ($f\bar{e}u\bar{e}r$) flower.

9. ME. ai (ei) + r (§ 35).

a) OE. \bar{a} + z : $st\bar{e}r z$ ($st\bar{i}e r z$) stairs.

b) Sc. ei $d\bar{e}ri$ ($d\bar{e}i ri$) dairy, $d\bar{e}r$ their.

c) Fr. ai (ei) $f\bar{e}r$ fair, $p\bar{e}r$ pair.

III. Diphthongs.

ai.

§ 66.

1. ME. a + \check{s} (§ 4, 5).

a) OE. a $wai\check{s}$.

b) OE. \bar{a} $lai\check{s}$.

c) Scand. a (?) $pai\check{s}$ to pour down.

d) Fr. a $slai\check{s}$ slash.

2. ME. e + \check{s} (§ 6, 2) (rare).

a) OE. \bar{a} $f\bar{e}ai\check{s}$ ($f\bar{e}i\check{s}$) flesh, meat.

3. ME. \bar{i} (literary influence).

a) OE. \bar{i} (§ 25, A, 1, b) $t\check{s}aim$ chime, $lai f$ life.

Note: In the above forms $\bar{a}i$ is also found.

OE. \bar{i} (§ 25, A, 1, c) $wai t$ white, $wai z$ wise.

b) OE. \bar{y} (§ 25, A, 2, b) $bail$ bile, $praid$ pride.

c) OE. \bar{i} , y + z (§ 25, A, 3) $stail$ stile, $tail$ tile.

d) OE. $\bar{e}o$ + z (§ 25, A, 4) lai to tell lies.

e) Fr. i (§ 25, B, b) $fain\bar{e}l$ final, $paint$ pint.

Note: In the above $\bar{a}i$ also found.

Fr. i (§ 25, B, c) $dilait$ delight, $prais$ price.

f) Scand. i (§ 25, C) $\bar{p}rai v$ thrive.

4. ME. au + $nd\check{z}$, ns (§ 36, B, 3).

a) Fr. $aind\check{z}al$ angel, $dains$ dance.

au.

§ 67.

Oldham *au* corresponds mostly to ME. *au* before *ght*.

1. ME. *au* (§ 37, 1).
 - a) OE. *ā* + *w* *aut* aught.
 - b) Sc. *a* + *h* *draut* draught.
2. ME. *ol* before *l*, *st*, *t* (§ 10, 3, a).
 - a) OE. *o* *bau* bowl, *pau* to cut.
3. ME. *q̄* + *l* before *d* (§ 28, 1).
 - a) OE. *ā*, *ea* *bihaud* behold, *faut* fold.
saud sold.
 - b) OE. *o* *saul* sole.
4. ME. *qu* particularly before *ght* (§§ 40, II and 41, 2).
 - a) OE. *ā* + *w* (§ 40, II) *saul* soul.
 - b) OE. *oh* (§ 41, 2) *baut* bought, *dautər* daughter.

ēi (*ēⁱ*).

§ 68.

Oldham *ēⁱ* (*ei*) mostly corresponds to ME. *ā* when final or before unvoiced consonants.

1. ME. *ā* (§ 14, A, a, 2).
 - a) OE. *a* *neⁱm* name, *tēⁱl* tale.
 - b) OE. *ea* (§ 14, A, b) *ēⁱl* ale, *šēⁱd* shade.
 - c) OE. *æ* (§ 14, a, c) *blēⁱd* blade, *rēⁱvn* raven.
 - d) Sc. *a* (§ 14, B) *gēⁱz* gaze.
 - e) Fr. *a* (§ 14, C) *ēⁱbl* able, *fēⁱbl* feeble.
2. ME. *e* + *š* (Rochdale influence) (§ 6, 2).
 - a) OE. *a* *wēⁱš* wash.
 - b) OE. *æ* *flēⁱš* flesh, meat.
 - c) OE. *e* *nēⁱš* tender.
3. ME. *ē*.
 - a) Fr. *ai* (§ 16, B, b) *ēⁱz* ease, *rēⁱzn* reason.

4. ME. *ai* (*ei*).

- a) OE. \ddot{e} (\bar{x}) + z (§ 34, A, 1) *tlēⁱ* clay, *dēⁱzi* daisy.
- b) Fr. *ai* (*ei*) (§ 34, B) *tlēⁱm* claim, *obēⁱ* obey.
- c) Sc. *ei* (§ 34, C) *grēⁱdli* properly, suitable.

5. ME. *au* before *f*, *v* (§ 37, 2).

- a) Fr. *au* *sēⁱv* save.

eu.

§ 69.

Oldham *eu* mostly corresponds to ME. *ū*.

1. ME. *ū*.

- a) OE. *ū* (§ 31, A, 1) *dēun* down, *hēus* house.
- b) OE. \bar{o} before *h* (§ 31, A, 2) *bēu* bough.
- c) OE. \ddot{u} + z (§ 31, A, 3) *fēul* fowl, *sēu* sow.
- d) Fr. *u* (*o*) before nasal (§ 31, B, 1) *əmeunt* amount.
- e) Fr. *ou* (§ 31, B, 2) *əlēu* allow, *keutš* couch.
- f) Sc. *ū* (§ 31, C) *bēun* bound, *drēup* droop.

2. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēow* (§ 43, A, 1, a) *blēu* blew, *trēuþ* truth.
- b) Fr. *eu* (§ 43, B, 1, a) *blēu* blue.

ēə.

§ 70.

Oldham *ēə* corresponds to ME. \bar{e} + *r*.

1. ME. \bar{e} + *r* (§ 23, 1, b).

- a) OE. \ddot{e} *bēar* bear, *pēar* (*pēr*) pear.

2. ME. \bar{e} + *r* (§ 19, 1, b).

- a) OE. \bar{e} + *r* *wēari* (*wīari*) weary.

īə.

§ 71.

Oldham *īə* mostly corresponds to ME. \bar{e} from various sources.

1. ME. \bar{e} .

- a) OE. $\bar{e}a$ (§ 16, A, 1, a) *bīam* beam, *dīaf* deaf.
- b) OE. \bar{x} (§ 16, A, 2, a) *tlīan* clean, *līest* least.

c) Fr. *ai* (§ 16, B, I, b) *plīaz* please, *rīazn* reason.

Note: The above also occur with *e*.

d) Fr. *ē* (§ 16, B, II, b) *bīast* beast, *resīav* receive.

e) Fr. *ēe* (§ 16, B, III) *sīal* seal, *vīal* veal.

2. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *ē* (§ 17, A, 1, b) *brīad* breed, *spīad* speed.

b) OE. *ēo* (§ 17, A, 3, b) *krīap* creep.

c) OE. *ē* (*ēa*) (§ 17, A, 4, b) *nīad* need, *slīav* sleeve.

d) Fr. *ué* (§ 17, B, 4) *bīaf* beef, *pīapl* people.

e) Fr. *ie* (§ 17, B, 5, b) *grīaf* grief.

Fr. *ie* before *r* (§ 19, 2, 1) *fīar's* fierce, *pīar* pier.

3. ME. *ē* — *ē* from W. Germ. *ā*.

a) OE. *ē*, *æ* (§ 20, A, 1, a) *brīap* breath, *slīap* sleep.

4. ME. Medium *ē*.

a) OE. *ē* (§ 22, a) *nīad* knead, *trīad* tread.

Note: The above also appear with *ē*.

5. ME. *ai*, *ei* (rare) (§ 34, C, Note).

a) Fr. *ai* *tšīan* chain.

ié.

§ 72.

Oldham *ié* is only found in the single word *piétar* theatre (§ 18, B, 3) ex ME. *thēatre*, French *théâtre*.

oi.

§ 73.

Oldham *oi* mostly corresponds to ME *oi*.

1. ME. *oi*.

a) Fr. *oi* (§ 44, A, 1, a) *apoint* appoint, *džoi* joy.

b) Fr. *o* (§ 44, A, 2, b) *loin* (*lāin*) loin.

c) Fr. *oe* (§ 44, A, 2, b) *soil* (*səil*) soil.

d) Uncertain sources (§ 44, B, c) *boi* boy, buoy.

2. ME. *o* before *l* (§ 27, IV).

a) OE. *o* *koil* (*kūal*) coal, *oil* hole.

ōð.

§ 74.

Oldham *ōð* mostly corresponds to ME. *ō* before final *r* in certain words.

1. ME. *ō* + *r* final (§ 28, 2).

Note: These words are also found with *ūð*.

2. ME. *ou* + *r* final (§ 39).

a) OE. *ēo fōðr* four, *jōðr* your.

ūe.

§ 75.

Oldham *ūe* corresponds mostly to ME. *ū*.

1. ME. *ū*.

a) OE. *ā* (§ 27, A, I, 1) *alūan* alone, *gūa* go.

b) OE. *o* (§ 27, A, I, 2) *kūal* (*koil*) coal, *rūaz* rose.

c) Fr. *o* (§ 27, B) *kūat* (*kwot*) coat, *rūast* roast.

2. ME. *ū*.

a) OE. *ō* (§ 29, A, 2) *spūan* spoon, *tuəþ* tooth.

b) Fr. *ō* (§ 30) *pūər* poor.

3. ME. *ē* — *ē*.

a) OE. *æ* (§ 20, A, 1, d) *jūər* hair.

4. ME. *ū*, *ō* before *r*.

a) OE. *u* (§ 32) *dūər* (*dər*) door.

ūi.

§ 76.

Oldham *ui* corresponds to:

1. ME. *ū* + *e* (§ 33, B, I, e).

a) Fr. *ue krūil* cruel.

2. ME. *ui* (§ 44, d).

a) Fr. *ui rūin* ruin, *sūit* suet.

əi.

§ 77.

Oldham *əi* mostly corresponds to ME. *ī*.

1. ME. *i*.

- a) OE. *ī* (§ 25, A, 1, a) *fāind* find, *māil* mile.
- b) OE. *ȳ* (§ 25, A, 2, a) *hāid* hide. *māis* mice.
- c) OE. *ī*, *y* + *z* (§ 25, A, 3) *drāi* dry, *tāi* tie.
- d) OE. *ēa* + *z* (§ 25, A, 5) *flāi* fly.
- e) OE. *ēo* + *z* (§ 25, A, 4) *əi* eye.
- f) Fr. *i* (§ 25, B, a) *fāin* fine, *nāis* nice.

2. ME. *oi*.

- a) Fr. *oi* (*ui*) (§ 44, A, 1, b) *nāiz* noise, *bāil* boil.

3. ME. *i*.

- a) OE. *i* (§ 7, a) *tšāilt* (*tšilt*) child.

IV. Triphthongs.

aiə.

§ 78.

Oldham *aiə* mostly corresponds to:

- a) Fr. *i* + Vowel (§ 25, B, b) *laiən* lion.

Note: The above is also found with *əiə*.

- b) OE. *ī* + *r* (§ 26) *šaiər* shire.
- c) Fr. *i* + *r* (§ 26) *skwaiər* squire.

2. ME. *ē* before *r*.

- (§ 19, 2, 2) *kweiər* quire.
- (§ 19, 2, 3) *kweiər* choir.
- (§ 19, 2, 4, a) *fraiər* friar.
- (§ 19, 2, 5, b) *inkweiər* enquire.

euə.

§ 79.

Oldham *euə* corresponds to ME. *ū* before *r*.

1. ME. *ū* + *r* (§ 32).

a) OE. *ū beuər* bower, *ſeuər* shower.

b) Sc. *ū keuər* sit down.

c) Fr. *ou fleuər* flour.

d) Fr. *oë pœuər* power.

oiə (very rare).

§ 80.

Oldham *oiə* corresponds to:

1. ME. *oi* + Vowel (§ 44, A, 2, a).

a) Fr. *oi roial* royal.

əiə.

§ 81.

Oldham *əiə* corresponds mostly to ME. *ī* before *r*.

1. ME. *ī* + *r* (§ 26).

a) OE. *ī ȳiər* iron, *wȳiər* wire.

b) OE. *ȳ faiər* fire, *mȳiər* mire.

c) Fr. *i Empȳiər* Empire (Theatre).

CHAPTER III.

THE VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

SHORT VOWELS.

a.

§ 82.

ME. unaccented *a* shows two developments: 1. it becomes *ə*, 2. it disappears.

1. *a* > *ə*.

a) In unaccented initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
about	<i>əbɔt</i>	about
abufen	<i>əbūn</i>	above
afæred	<i>əfɪərt</i>	afraid
agate	<i>əgɛt</i>	in action
agein	<i>əgen, əgin</i>	against
agrээр	<i>əgrī</i>	agree.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent.

Christ(es)- masse	<i>kə'sməs</i> <i>krisməs</i> <i>kesməs</i>	} Christmas
bastard	<i>bastərt</i>	
busard	<i>buzərt</i>	
couard	<i>kəuərt</i>	aoward

ME.	OD.	NE.
crustade (sk)	<i>kustərt</i>	custard
mustard	<i>mustərt</i>	mustard.

2. a) Unaccented ME. *a* sometimes disappears initially.

amende	<i>mend</i>	mend
aprentice	<i>prentis</i>	apprentice
L. ad + lot + ment	<i>lotmants</i>	allotments.

b) Unaccented ME. *a* disappears between certain consonants.

cristal	<i>kristl</i>	crystal
hospital	<i>q̄rspitl</i>	hospital
metal	<i>metl</i>	metal
principal	<i>prinsipl</i>	principal.

c) Unaccented *a* disappears between accented and secondary syllables.

cumpanie	<i>kumpni</i> <i>seprat</i>	company separate.
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e.

ME. *e* has become *ə* or *i*, under certain circumstances it has also disappeared.

1. ME. *e* > *ə* or *i*.

a) Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
elevene	<i>alevn</i> (<i>iləvn</i>)	eleven
escāpe	<i>eskēp</i> (<i>iskēp</i>)	escape
L. <i>eventus</i>	<i>ivent</i>	event.

b) In initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

deceit	<i>disēt</i>	deceit
deceive	<i>dise'v</i>	deceive
delit	<i>diləit</i>	delight.

c) In syllables preceded by the principal accent.

countesse	<i>kəuntəs</i>	countes
hundred	<i>undə't</i>	hundred
sac̄lās	<i>saklās</i>	silly.

also in all plurals in *es* (= OD. *iz*).

hersedes	<i>ə'siz</i>	hearses
houses	<i>əuziz</i>	houses
macches	<i>matʃiz</i>	matches.

d) In unaccented syllables, between the principal and the

secondary accent, ME. unaccented *e* either becomes *ə* or disappears.

ME. OD. NE.

beverage	<i>bev(ə)ridʒ</i> (<i>bebridʒ</i>)	beverage
draperie	<i>drap(ə)ri</i>	drapery
gadering	<i>gaḏ(ə)rin</i>	gathering
miserie	<i>miz(ə)ri</i>	misery
quērēle + ing	<i>kwar(ə)lin</i>	quarrelling.

2. ME. *e* in unaccented syllables disappears.

a) Between certain consonants (*dl, tl, pl, vl, bl, (kl, tl,) sl*).

castel	<i>kasl</i>	castle
ketel	<i>ketl</i>	kettle
level	<i>levl</i>	level
litel	<i>litl</i>	little
purpre	<i>pə'rp</i>	purple
rēdles	<i>ridl</i>	riddle
stuble	<i>stubl</i>	stubble.

b) Final unaccented *e* in all ME. words is dropped.

mīle	<i>māil</i>	mile
swēte	<i>swīt</i>	sweet.

c) In unaccented syllables between the principal and the secondary accent (cp. I, d).

i.

ME. *i* either remains as *i* in unaccented syllables or is dropped.

1. a) ME. *i* (*y*) remains finally.

ME.	OD.	NE.
em(p)ti	<i>emti</i>	empty
half-peni	<i>ḡpni</i>	half-penny
mani	<i>moni</i>	many
sely	<i>sili</i>	silly.

b) ME. *i* remains in final unaccented syllables when preceded by the principal accent.

coming	<i>kumin</i>	coming
finisse	<i>finiš</i>	finish
punische	<i>puniš</i>	punish

ME.	OD.	NE.
radishe	<i>radiš</i>	radish
schilling	<i>šilin</i>	shilling.

c) ME. *i* remains in initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

distreine	<i>distrēn</i>	distrain
distresse	<i>distres</i>	distress
disturbe	<i>distər̃b</i>	disturb.

2. ME. *i* is dropped between principal and secondary accent.

peni- wurthe	<i>penəḡ</i>	penny- worth.
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o.

ME. *o* in unaccented syllables is 1. retained or 2. > *ə*, or 3. disappears.

1. ME. *o* is retained initially, though it sometimes > *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
obeien	<i>obēi</i> (<i>əbēi</i>)	obey
observe	<i>obsār̃v</i> (<i>əbsār̃v</i>)	observe
opinioun	<i>opīnjān</i> (<i>əpīnjān</i>)	opinion

2. ME. *o* > *ə* in final syllables after the principal accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bulloke	<i>bulək</i>	bullock
confort	<i>kumfət</i>	comfort
galopen	<i>galəp</i>	gallop
sirope	<i>serəp</i>	syrup.

3. ME. *o* disappears between principal and secondary syllable (rare).

nō + }bodi	<i>nōbri</i>	nobody
sum + }	<i>sūmbri</i>	somebody.

u (ü).

ME. *u* (*ü*) in unaccented syllables becomes *ə*, or disappears.

ME.	OD.	NE.
naturel	<i>nat(ə)rel</i>	natural.

LONG VOWELS.

\bar{a} .

§ 83.

MF. \bar{a} in unaccented syllables becomes a , or i .

1. ME. $\bar{a} > a$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
conestāble	<i>konstabl</i>	constable
speciāl	<i>spēšal</i>	special.

2. ME. $\bar{a} > i$ before $d\check{z}$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
langāge	<i>langwidž</i>	language
sauvāge	<i>savidž</i>	savage.

\bar{e} .

ME. \bar{e} in unaccented syllables has become \bar{a} or i .

1. ME. $\bar{e} > a$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
harneis	<i>a^rnəs</i>	harness
(harnēs)		

ME.	OD.	NE.
paleis	<i>paləs</i>	palace.
(palēs)		

2. ME. $\bar{e} > i$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cruēl	<i>krēuil</i>	cruel.

\bar{e} .

ME. \bar{e} in unaccented syllables has become either a or i , or has disappeared.

1. ME. $\bar{e} > a$ in final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
banēre	<i>ban^ar</i>	banner
bouchēr	<i>butš^ar</i>	butcher
rivēr	<i>riv^ar</i>	river.

2. ME. $\bar{e} > i$ in final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
beautē	<i>bjūti</i>	beauty
crüeltē	<i>krēulti</i>	cruelty
plentē	<i>plenti</i>	plenty.

3. ME. \bar{e} has disappeared between certain letters (*tl*, *dl*).

ME.	OD.	NE.
catēl	<i>katl</i>	cattle
caudēl	<i>kōdl</i>	caudle.

I.

ME. \bar{i} in unaccented syllables became ə or i , or disappeared.

1. ME. $\bar{i} > \text{ə}$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
velīm	<i>velām*</i>	vellum
venim	<i>venām*</i>	venom.

* These are rare words in the dialect.

2. ME. $\bar{i} > i$.

ME.	OD.	NE.
compaignīe	<i>kūmpni</i>	company
musīke	<i>mjūsik</i>	music
promīsen	<i>promis</i>	promise.

3. ME. \bar{i} disappears between certain letters (*sn, tn*).

bāsīn	<i>bēsn</i>	basin
curtīn	<i>kārtn</i> <i>(kārtnər)</i>	curtain
reisīn	<i>rēzn</i>	raisin.

O.

ME. \bar{o} becomes either ə or o , or disappears in unaccented syllables.

1. ME. $\bar{o} > \text{ə}$ in final unaccented syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
(tresōr)	<i>trešər</i>	treasure.

2. ME. $\bar{o} > o$ when it has a secondary accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
catalōge	<i>katalog</i>	catalogue
dialōge	<i>daialog</i>	dialogue.

3. ME. $\bar{o} > \text{ə}$, or disappears between the principal and the secondary accents.

histōrie	<i>ist(ə)ri</i>	history
memōrie	<i>mem(ə)ri</i>	memory
victōrie	<i>vikt(ə)ri</i>	victory.

U.

ME. \bar{u} becomes ə or disappears.

1. ME. $\bar{u} > \text{ə}$ in unaccented final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
colour	<i>kulər</i>	colour
favour	<i>favər</i>	favour

ME.	OD.	NE.
jelous	<i>dželas</i>	jealous
labour	<i>labər</i>	labour.

2. ME. \bar{u} disappears between principal and secondary accent.

particulēr	<i>pər'tikelər</i>	particular
regulēr	<i>reglər</i>	regular.

ū.

ME. *ū* > *ə*, *i* or *u*.

1. *ū* > *ə* in unaccented syllables in.

ME.	OD.	NE.
mesūre	<i>mezər</i>	measure
natūre	<i>nētər</i> (<i>nētḍər</i>)	nature
pastūre	<i>pastər</i>	pasture.

2. *ū* > *i* in unaccented syllables in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
minūte	<i>minit</i>	minute.

3. *ū* > *ju* in secondary syllables in:

avenūe	<i>avenju</i>	avenue
valūe	<i>valju</i>	value
vertū	<i>vərtju</i>	virtue.

DIPHTHONGS.

ai, ei.

§ 84.

ME. *ai, ei* in unaccented syllables has become *ə* or *i* or has disappeared.

1. *ai, ei* > *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
conseil	<i>keunsəl</i> (<i>keunsil</i>)	counsel
duzain	<i>duz(ə)n</i>	dozen
Romain	<i>Rōmən</i>	Roman
travaille	<i>trav(ə)l</i>	travel.

Note: Some of the above also appear with *i* or drop the diphthong.

2. *ai, ei* > *i*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
chimnée	<i>tšimbli</i>	chimney
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign
fontaine	<i>feuntin</i>	fountain
touail	<i>teuil</i>	towel.

3. ME. *ai, ei* disappears between certain consonants.

bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
botel	<i>botl (bokl)</i>	bottle
certain	<i>sərtən</i> (<i>sārtin</i>)	certain.
sodein	<i>sudn</i>	sudden
vitaille	<i>witlz</i>	victuals.

au.

ME. *au* in unaccented syllables becomes *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
almaunde	<i>q̄mānd</i>	almond
ġiaunt	<i>džaiənt</i>	giant
marchaunt	<i>mārts(ə)nt*</i>	merchant
servaunt	<i>sārv(ə)nt</i>	servant.

* Note: In certain combinations this *ə* almost disappears.

A notable exception to the above rule is

ME.	OD.	NE.
orenge	<i>orindž</i>	orange.

eu, eu.

ME. *eu, eu* in unaccented syllables remains as *ju* or *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
corfeu	<i>kərfju</i>	curfew
neveu	<i>nevju</i>	nephew
Hebreu	<i>ībru</i>	Hebrew.

oi, ou, ou

do not occur in unaccented syllables, except in some cases of weak sentence stress.

B. Weak Syllables.

§ 85.

1. The ME. syllable *we* (NE. = *ow*) has become weakened to *ə* in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
barwe	<i>barə</i>	barrow
schadwe	<i>šadə</i>	shadow
swalowe	<i>swalə</i>	swallow(vb)
wilwe	<i>wilə</i>	willow.

2. The ME. final syllable-*ward* becomes *-ərd*, *-ərt* in the OD.

awkward	<i>əkwərt</i>	awkward
bak-warde	<i>bakərt</i>	backward
forward	<i>forəd</i>	forward.

Note: The ME. word *toward* (OE. *tóweard*) has become contracted to *tərd* (= NE. *toward*).

3. A similar contraction has taken place with the final syllables *-worth* and *-what* in compounds. They appear as *əp* and *ət* respectively.

ME.	OD.	NE.
peni-	<i>penəp</i>	penny-
wurthe		worth
sumwhat	<i>sumət</i>	somewhat.

4. Initial syllables followed by the principal accent have been lost in (cp. also *a* in unstressed syllables § 82):

bicause	<i>koz</i>	because
delivren	<i>livə</i>	deliver
entisen	<i>təis</i>	entice
ENE. ta-	<i>bakə</i>	tobacco.
bacco		

For examples of weak Sentence Stress cp. Inflexion — Auxiliary Verbs and Pronouns.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSONANTS.

I. LABIALS.

p.

§ 86.

I. Initially *p* has been preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
path	<i>paþ</i>	path
peni	<i>peni</i>	penny
plaie, pleie	<i>plēi</i>	play
pot	<i>pot</i>	pot
pound	<i>peund,</i> <i>pund</i>	pound
proud	<i>preud</i>	proud
pēs	<i>pēs</i>	peace
pudding	<i>pudn</i>	pudding
püre	<i>pjūar</i>	pure
put	<i>put, pət</i>	put.

II. Medially.

spēke	<i>spēk</i>	speak
sparwe	<i>spara</i>	sparrow
sperit	<i>sperit</i>	spirit
appel	<i>apə, ap-pə</i>	apple
champioun	<i>tšompjən</i>	champion
gospel	<i>gospəl</i>	gospel
pāper	<i>papər</i>	paper
whispere	<i>wispər</i>	whisper.
April(l)e	<i>April</i>	April
poplēr	<i>poplər</i>	poplar
purpre	<i>pərpl</i>	purple

ME.	OD.	NE.
Septembre	<i>Septembər</i>	September
simple	<i>simpəl</i>	simple
upwarde	<i>upər dz</i>	upwards.

p is dropped:

α) Before *b*.

cupborde	<i>kubərt</i>	cupboard
rasp + berie	<i>razbri</i>	raspberry.

β) In the combination *mpt*.

empti(emti)	<i>emti</i>	empty
tempt	<i>temt</i>	tempt.

ME. *p* has become *b* in the following:¹

baptisen	<i>babtəiz</i>	baptize
lopster	<i>lobstər</i>	lobster
pibbel-stōn	<i>pebl</i>	pebble.
(OE. <i>papel-stān</i> ?)		

III. Finally *p* always retained.

1. In ME. final position.

chēp	<i>tšīp, tšīap</i>	cheap
dēp	<i>dīp, dīap</i>	deep
hēp	<i>hīp, hīap</i>	heap

¹) Cp. Bradley, M. L. Q. I, 27.

ME.	OD.	NE.
hemp	<i>hemp</i>	hemp
scharp	<i>šār^rp</i>	sharp.
2. In NE. final position.		
cuppe	<i>kup</i>	cup
helpe	<i>elp</i>	help

ME.	OD.	NE.
laumpe	<i>lōmp</i>	lamp
schāpe	<i>šēp</i>	shape
steppe	<i>step</i>	step
waspe	<i>wasp</i>	wasp.

b.

§ 87.

I. Initially *b* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bath	<i>baþ</i>	bath
bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
bēre	<i>bēār, bīār</i>	bear
bēst	<i>bīas(t)</i>	beast
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
bodi	<i>bodi</i>	body
boile	<i>bail</i>	boil
bōk	<i>būk</i>	book
bute	<i>but</i>	but.

II. Medially.

abit	<i>abit</i>	habit
aboutē	<i>abēt</i>	about
elbowe	<i>elbo</i>	elbow
husbonde	<i>usbānd</i>	husband
labour	<i>labār*</i>	labour
thim(b)el	<i>þimbl**</i>	thimble
timber	<i>timbār</i>	timber.

* Note 1. The ordinary word in the Dialect is *wark*.

** Note 2. *b* has been inserted after *m* and before *el* in:

nimel	<i>nimbl</i>	nimble
thimel	<i>þimbl</i>	thimble

ME.	OD.	NE.
February	<i>Febriwē'ri</i>	February
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble
tremblen	<i>trembl</i>	tremble
tumble	<i>tumbl</i>	tumble.

III. Finally.

In NE. final position *b* is also retained, except after *m*.

α) Retained:

clubbe	<i>klub</i>	club
crabbe	<i>krah</i>	crab
gabbe	<i>gab</i>	gab
herbe	<i>jār^b</i>	herb
knobbe	<i>nob</i>	knob
ribbe	<i>rib</i>	rib.

β) Dropped:

cōmb	<i>kōm</i>	comb
dūmb,	<i>dom, dum</i>	dumb
domb		
lamb, lomb	<i>lom</i>	lamb
climbe	<i>klōim</i>	climb
thombe,	<i>þum</i>	thumb.
thumbe		

Note: Final *b* is hardened to *p* in

gossib	<i>gosip</i>	gossip.
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f.

§ 88.

I. α) Initially *f* is usually retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fāder	<i>fē'dər</i>	father
fīnde	<i>fāind</i>	find
flesch	<i>flaiš, fleiš</i>	flesh, meat
flie	<i>flai</i>	fly
fōt	<i>fūt</i>	foot
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign.

β) Initial *f* has become *v* (an importation from the literary language, originally dialect of Kent):

fāne (Kent. <i>vē'in*</i> vāne)	vane
fat (Kent. <i>vat</i> vat)	vat
fixen (Kent. <i>vixn</i> vixen)	vixen.

* Note: "*wedər-kok*" is more common in the OD.

II. Medially.

biforen	<i>afūr</i>	before
cofin	<i>kofin</i>	coffin
confort	<i>kumfərt</i>	comfort
defenden	<i>difend</i>	defend
defien	<i>difai</i>	defy
griffoun	<i>grifin</i>	griffin
craft	<i>kraft</i>	craft
daft	<i>daft</i>	foolish
fifte	<i>fift</i>	fifth

ME.	OD.	NE.
gillofer	<i>džilifləuər</i>	gillyflower
offre	<i>ofər</i>	offer.

III. Finally.

α) In final position *f* mostly retained.

bēf	<i>bīf</i>	beef
chaufe	<i>tšēf</i>	chafe
delf	<i>delf</i>	a stone quarry
doffe	<i>dof</i>	doff
līf	<i>lāif</i>	life
scherefe	<i>šerif</i>	sheriff
strīf	<i>strāif</i>	strife
thēf	<i>þīf</i>	thief
wīf	<i>wāif</i>	wife.

β) In a few ME. words, the *f* has been dropped.

bailif, baili	<i>bēli</i>	bailiff
houswīf	<i>uži</i>	huzzy
jolīf	<i>džoli</i>	jolly.

γ) *f* > *v* in the following.

calf	<i>kāv</i>	calf
fīf	<i>fāiv</i>	five
twelf	<i>twelv</i>	twelve
half	<i>āv</i>	half
of	<i>ov</i>	of.

Note: *f* in *half* is dropped in *q̄pni*-half-penny. — The OD. forms are derived from ME. inflected forms, *ov* is unstressed,

V.

§ 89.

ME. *v* = OD. *v* in all positions.

I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
verrei, verrai	<i>veri</i>	very
vertu	<i>vārtju</i>	virtue
vers	<i>vārs, ves</i>	verse
vois	<i>vois</i>	voice
viage	<i>vauədž</i> (<i>au!</i>)	voyage.

Note: Initial *v* > *f* in:

vecche	<i>fitš</i>	vetch.
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II. a) Medially.

fever	<i>fēvər</i>	fever
hēven	<i>evn</i>	heaven
livre	<i>livər</i>	liver
rivēr	<i>rivər</i>	river
seven	<i>sevn</i>	seven
wives	<i>waivz</i>	wives.

b) Medial *v* has been dropped in:

dēvel	<i>dāl, dāl</i>	devil
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ME.	OD.	NE.
eveninge	<i>īn</i>	evening
ever	<i>ēr</i>	ever
given	<i>gin</i>	given
ōven	<i>ūn</i>	oven
over	<i>ōər</i>	over
po(v)re	<i>pūər</i>	poor.

III. a) Finally (NE. final position).

douve	<i>duv</i>	dove
drīve	<i>drāiv</i>	drive
glōve	<i>dluv</i>	glove
love	<i>luv</i>	love
schouve	<i>šuv</i>	shove.

b) Medial *v* > *f* in a certain number of words.

belēve	<i>bilēf</i>	belief
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For explanation cp. Köppel, Archiv CVI, 37.

W.

§ 90.

I. Initially.

α) ME. *w* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
waġe	<i>wē'džəz</i>	wages
waite	<i>wēt</i>	wait
waraunt	<i>warənt</i>	warrant
was	<i>woz</i>	was
wāter	<i>wētər,</i> <i>wēpər, wītər</i>	water
wēke	<i>wīk</i>	week
werre	<i>wār</i>	war

ME.	OD.	NE.
wīn	<i>wāin</i>	wine
wisshe	<i>wīš</i>	wish
wode	<i>wud</i>	wood
wolde, wulde	<i>wud</i>	would
word	<i>wōrd</i>	word.

β) Initial *w* dropped before *r*.

wrappen	<i>rap</i>	wrap
wrechen	<i>ratš</i>	to stretch

ME.	OD.	NE.
wrestlen	<i>rasl, rosl</i>	wrestle
wringe	<i>ring</i>	wring
write	<i>rait</i>	write
wriþe	<i>raid</i>	writhe
wriþen	<i>riðn</i>	twisted.

Note: An initial *w* has been prefixed before ME. *ȝ* cp. § 27, III.

II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *w*. — The groups *dw, sw, tw*

α) preserve the *w* in the OD. except, β) before velar vowels and in unaccented syllables.

α)

dwellen	<i>dwel</i>	dwel
dwarf, dwerf	<i>dwārf</i>	dwarf
dwindle	<i>dwindle</i>	dwindle
swap	<i>swap</i>	a stroke
swelten	<i>swelty</i>	sultry
swēte	<i>swīt</i>	sweet
swōte	<i>swot</i>	to sweat
twine	<i>twain</i>	twine
twinklen	<i>twinkl</i>	twinkle
twist	<i>twist</i>	twist.

β)

1. Before Velar Vowels.

hwō > hō	<i>ū</i>	who
hwōm > hōm	<i>ūm</i>	whom
hwās > hōs	<i>ūz</i>	whose
swa	<i>sō, sō, so</i>	so
swērd	<i>sōrd</i>	sword
twō	<i>tū</i>	two
þwong	<i>þon</i>	thong.

2. In unaccented Syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
swich, swuch	<i>sitš, sutš</i>	such.

b) Before Vowels.

1. Dropped before velar Vowels and in unaccented syllables.

α) Before Velar Vowels.

(al)swā	(<i>q</i>)lsō	(al)so.
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β) In unaccented syllables.

alway	<i>qlaz</i>	always
answare	<i>qnsar</i>	answer
backward	<i>bakardz</i>	backwards
bōtswain	<i>bōsn</i>	boatswain
foreward	<i>forad</i>	forward
grundes- wilie	<i>grunsl</i>	groundsel
houswīf	<i>uzi</i>	housewife
peni-wurth	<i>penap</i>	penny- worth.

2. *w* has been inserted before a vowel in:¹

langage	<i>langwidž</i>	language.
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III. Finally *w* has always dropped in NE. final position being-weakened to *ə*. This is due to the unaccented position.

arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
barwe	<i>barə</i>	barrow
medwe	<i>medə</i>	meadow
schadwe	<i>šadə</i>	shadow
widwe	<i>widə</i>	widow
wilwe	<i>wilə</i>	willow
zelwe	<i>jalə</i>	yellow.

Note: ME. *felaue*, however, appears mostly as *feli*.

¹ Cp. Köppel "Spelling Pronunciations" p. 23.

hw (wh).

§ 83.

ME. *hw (wh)* has either disappeared totally (cp. p. 87, a, β) or become *w*. It only occurs initially.

hw > w.

ME.	OD.	NE.
what	<i>wot</i>	what

ME.	OD.	NE.
when	<i>wen</i>	when
whēr(e)	<i>wīar (wār)</i>	where
which	<i>witš</i>	which
whistle	<i>wisl</i>	whistle
whīt	<i>wait</i> (<i>wait</i>)	white.

m.

§ 84.

ME. *m* has always remained.

I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
man, mon	<i>mon</i>	man
mete	<i>mēt</i>	meat
miche, moche	<i>mitš</i>	much
mīn, mi	<i>māi</i>	my
mōder	<i>mūdār</i>	mother
mountaine	<i>mēuntin</i>	mountain
month	<i>mēuþ</i>	month
myghte	<i>mait</i>	might.

II. Medially.

smellen	<i>smel</i>	smell (vb)
smodren	<i>smūar</i>	to suffocate
almesse	<i>ōmās</i>	alms
amounten	<i>āmēunt</i>	amount
damage	<i>damidž</i> (<i>domidž</i>)	damage
hamer	<i>omār</i>	hammer
zemer (sad)	<i>jomār</i> , <i>jamer</i>	to grieve.

ME.	OD.	NE.
companie	<i>kumpni</i>	company
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble
laumpe	<i>lomp</i>	lamp
noumpēre	<i>umpāiar</i>	umpire
simple	<i>simpl</i>	simple
pombe	<i>þum</i>	thumb.

Note: ME. *m > n* before *t* in the following.

am(e)te	<i>ant</i>	ant.
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III. Finally.

bosum	<i>buzm</i>	bosom
dreem	<i>drīam</i> , <i>drem</i>	dream
ham	<i>wum</i>	home
ram	<i>rom</i>	ram
roum	<i>rēum</i>	room
come	<i>kum</i>	come
nāme	<i>nēim</i>	name
swimme	<i>swim</i>	swim
tīme	<i>tāim</i>	time.

II. DENTALS.

t.

§ 85.

ME. *t* has remained in all positions.

I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
tāle	<i>tēⁱl</i>	tale
tīme	<i>tāim</i>	time
toun	<i>tēun</i>	town
tour	<i>tēuər</i>	tower
tunge	<i>tung</i>	tongue.

II. Medially.

steir	<i>stīər, stār</i>	stair
straw	<i>strēⁱ</i>	straw
bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
curtin	<i>kərtnər</i>	curtain
fitlock, fetlack	<i>fetlock</i>	fetlock
pertriche	<i>pārtridž</i>	partridge.

In many words where *t* occurs before *r* (*ər*), it becomes *tđ* or *p*. This rule is not so invariable however as in the neighbouring dialects (cp. Hargreaves § 74, 2).

beter	<i>betđər</i> (<i>betər</i>)	better
creature	<i>krēpər</i> (<i>krētər</i>)	creature
cutten + leg	<i>kutđər-</i> <i>leg</i> (<i>kutər-</i> <i>leg</i>)	{ a hoop of a barrel used as a hoop to play with
Ēster	<i>Āspər,</i> <i>Ēspər</i>	Easter

ME.	OD.	NE.
maister	<i>mespər</i> (<i>mestər</i>)	master
matere	<i>matpər</i>	matter
wāter	<i>wēpər</i> (<i>wētər</i>)	water
winter	<i>winpər</i>	winter.

t has been dropped medially between *s*, *f* and *l*, *m*, *n*.

Christes- masse	<i>krismes</i>	Christmas
listene	<i>lisn</i>	listen
often	<i>ofn</i>	often
soften	<i>sofn</i>	soften
thrōstel	<i>prosl</i>	throstle
whistle	<i>wisl</i>	whistle.

Note: *t* > *r*:

Span. patata	<i>poritə</i>	potato.
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Contrary to some neighbouring dialects *t* before ME. *ü* does not become *tš* but remains as *t* (cp. Hargreaves § 74, 8. and Horn, Unters. p. 86 ff.)

fournitüre	<i>fornitər</i>	furniture
fortune	<i>fortin</i>	fortune
natüre	<i>nētər</i> (<i>netđər</i>)	nature
pastüre	<i>pastər</i> (<i>pasđər</i>)	pasture.

III. Finally (in ME. and NE. final positions).

at	<i>at</i>	at
aught	<i>q̄t</i>	aught
aunt(e)	<i>q̄nt, ėnt</i>	aunt

ME.	OD.	NE.
bōt	bōt	boat
holt	baut	bolt
bat	at	hat
areste	arest	arrest
bōte	būt	boot
berste	brast	burst
chiste	tšist, kist	chest
faute	faut	fault
fighte	fait	fight.

Final (ME. and NE.) *t* has been assimilated to preceding *s*.

bēste	bīast (pl. beast bīas)	
cruste	krus } pl. kras } kru- crust } sisez	
ģiste	džois (pl. joist dsoisiz)	
leste	les	lest
nest	niz (pl. nest. niziz) (nīst)	

Final *t* has been dropped before a word beginning with a consonant.

būte	bā', bo', bai'	but
lēte	le	let
put	po	put

ME.	OD.	NE.
Cp. Whit- sundei	Wisn(di)	Whitsun- day.

Note: In some of the above words *t* often becomes *r* (also in ME. *gete*), that is to say when they stand before a vowel.

lete	ler	let
gete	ger	get
put	pār	put.

A final *t* has been added (sometimes in LME.) to the following.

auncien(t)	ēnšant	ancient
fēsaun(t)	fəznt	pheasant
tirann(t)	tairant	tyrant
ōnes	wunst, wənst	once
gisér	gizart (gizərn)	gizzard
hērcē	hārst	hearse
scurf	skruft	scruff
snevien	snift	sniff
tiffen	tift	good order.

Note: The forms *against* and *whilst* are not found in the dialect. They are *əgin* and *wail* without *st* as in ME.

d.

§ 86.

I. Initially ME. *d* has remained in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
day, dai	dēi	day
dauncen	dōns, dains, dons	dance

ME.	OD.	NE.
dar	dār, dār	dare
dēl	dīal	deal
dēze, dīe	dāi, (dī)	die
doughter	dautər	daughter
dūble	dubl	doubl
dumb, domb	dom	dumb.

II. Medially.

1. ME. *d* has been preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
body, bodi	<i>bodi</i>	body
bridel	<i>bræidl</i>	bridle
cinder, sinder	<i>sindər</i>	cinder
gardin	<i>gār dn, gār dīn</i>	garden
jaundis (jannis)	<i>jōndis</i>	jaundice
medicine	<i>medsin</i>	medicine
kindle	<i>kindl</i>	kindle
kidnēre	<i>kidni</i>	kidney
medle	<i>medl</i>	meddle.

2. Intervocalic *d* in unaccented syllables has become *r*.

ēny, ani + bodi	<i>anibri</i>	anybody
nōbodi	<i>nōbri</i>	nobody
sum, som + bodi	<i>sumbri</i>	somebody.

3. *d* after *n* has disappeared by assimilation medially in the combinations *nds*, *ndf*, *ndl*, *ndn*.

<i>nds</i>		
answare	<i>ōnsər, onsər</i>	answer
groundswell	<i>grūnsel</i>	groundsel
<i>ndf</i>		
graund + fader	<i>gronfē'dər</i>	grandfather
land) lond) + lōrd	<i>lonlōrt</i>	landlord
<i>ndl</i>		
candel	<i>konl</i>	candle
trendelen	<i>trunl</i>	trundle
nēdle	<i>nēl</i>	needle
<i>ndn</i>		
brandnewe	<i>bron-njū</i>	brandnew
habound- dance	<i>abunəns</i>	abundance.

4. ME. *d* between Vowel and *r* > *ḍ*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bladdre	<i>bledər (bledər)</i>	bladder
(diddre)	<i>diḍər</i>	to tremble
fader	<i>fē'dər</i>	father
fodder	<i>foḍər</i>	fodder
gadere	<i>gaḍər</i>	gather
laddre	<i>laḍər (laddər)</i>	ladder
mōder	<i>muḍər</i>	mother
poudre	<i>peuḍər (pēuḍər)</i>	powder
wēder	<i>wedər</i>	weather.

ME. *d* after Consonant + *r* generally becomes *ḍḍ*; *ddr* > *ḍḍr*, and *dr* > *ḍr*, cp. *bledər*, *bledər* = "bladder" and *laḍər*, *laddər* = "ladder" above.

	<i>glendər (glendər)</i>	to stare
	<i>lindər (lindər)</i>	to tie up
wonder	<i>wundər (wundər)</i>	wonder
hundred	<i>undḍred, undḍred</i>	hundred
childre	<i>tšildər</i>	children.

III. Finally.

ME. *d* has a) remained as *d* or b) become *t* under certain conditions or c) has disappeared.

a) 1. In ME. final position.

balled	<i>baud</i>	bald
bērd	<i>bīər d</i>	beard
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
cōld	<i>kaud</i>	cold
glad	<i>dlad</i>	glad.

2. In NE. final position.

ME.	OD.	NE.
almaunde	<i>ōmānd</i>	almond
cloude	<i>tleud</i>	cloud
ende	<i>end</i>	end
knēde	<i>nīad, nīd</i>	knead
ladde	<i>lad</i>	lad
ōld	<i>aud</i>	old.

b) Final *d* > *t* 1. in the preterite and past participle of many verbs and 2. a large number of other words.

1.

axede	<i>akst</i>	asked
hōpede	<i>ōpt</i>	hoped
lokede	<i>lūkt</i>	looked
passede	<i>past</i>	passed
crabbe + ed	<i>krabt</i>	ill-tempered
crencled	<i>krin̄klt</i>	crinkled
dased	<i>deizt</i>	dazed
favoured	<i>favərt</i>	favoured
grisel + ed	<i>grizlt</i>	grizzled
hanged	<i>aŋgt</i>	hanged
ōpen + ed	<i>opənt</i>	opened
sēmede	<i>semt</i>	seemed
smothered	<i>smūrt</i>	smothered
teried	<i>tarit</i>	tarried
blended	<i>blendit</i>	blended.

2.

afraried	<i>afīərt</i>	afraid
awkward	<i>ōkərt</i>	awkward
bakward	<i>bakərt</i>	backward
band	<i>bant</i>	band, string

ME.	OD.	NE.
behinde	<i>behint</i> (<i>bihənt</i>)	behind
beyonde	<i>bijont</i>	beyond
blind	<i>blint</i>	blind
child	<i>tšāilt, tšilt</i>	child
fēld	<i>fīālt, fīlt</i>	field
fōld	<i>faud</i>	fold
for(th)ward	<i>forət</i> (<i>forəd</i>)	forward
hand, hond	<i>ont</i>	hand
inwarde	<i>inərt</i>	inward
londlōrd	<i>lonlōrt</i>	landlord
solide	<i>solit</i>	solid
thousand	<i>þeūsant</i>	thousand
toward	<i>tuərt(tōrd)</i>	toward
wisard	<i>wizərt</i>	wizard
wōrd	<i>wərt</i>	word.

For further examples with explanations cp. Horn "Guttural-laute" p. 38 ff.

c) *d* has disappeared after *n* in the following (see also above).

and	<i>an</i>	and
bunden	<i>bun</i>	constipated
funden	<i>fōn, fun</i>	found
grand	<i>gron</i>	grand
ground	<i>grun</i>	ground
wunden	<i>wun</i>	wound.

Note: *d* has not been inserted in:

boun	<i>bēun</i>	bound (adj.)
lēne	<i>lan</i>	lend.

th, (*þ*).

§ 87.

1. Initially *þ* has remained except in unaccented words and sometimes before *w*.

1. *þ* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
thāwe	<i>þō</i>	thaw

ME.	OD.	NE.
thēf	<i>þīf</i>	thief
thorn	<i>þōrn</i>	thorn
thumbe	<i>þum</i>	thumb
thunder	<i>þunər</i>	thunder.

2. Initial $\bar{p} > \bar{d}$ in unaccented in unaccented words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
that	$\bar{d}at$	that
$\bar{p}\bar{e}$	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$	thee
$\bar{p}ei$	$\bar{d}\bar{e}$	they
their	$\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{a}^r$ ($\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{a}$)	their
thenne	$\bar{d}en$	then
thēre	$\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{a}^r$, $\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{r}$	there
$\bar{p}\bar{i}n$	$\bar{d}\bar{a}i(n)$	thy, thine
this	$\bar{d}is$	this
$\bar{p}ou$, $\bar{p}u$	$\bar{d}eu$	thou
$\bar{p}\bar{o}s$	$\bar{d}\bar{u}\bar{a}z$	those.

Note: Used interrogatively, the 2nd pers sing. appears as $t\bar{a}$ e. g. $es-t\bar{a}$ = "hast thou"? $wil-t\bar{a}$? wilt thou? This is a process of assimilation to the preceding t .

It even becomes t in such combinations as " $Wot\bar{a}st t's\bar{e}i$?" = What dost thou say?

II. Medially and Finally.

1. \bar{p} remained.

helthe + y $el\bar{p}i$ healthy

ME.	OD.	NE.
nōthing	$nu\bar{p}ing$, $nu\bar{p}i\bar{n}k$	nothing
mouth	$meu\bar{p}$	mouth
path	$pa\bar{p}$	path
tōth	$t\bar{u}\bar{p}$	tooth
treuthe	$treu\bar{p}$	truth.

2. In the following unaccented word $\bar{p} > \bar{d}$.

with $wid\bar{t}$ with.

3. $thw > thw$ or w .

$\bar{p}wytel$	$\bar{p}witl$, $witl$	whittle
$\bar{p}wyten$	$\bar{p}w\bar{a}it$	to cut
$\bar{p}waken$	$\bar{p}wak$, wak	thwack.

Note 1: ME. $\bar{p}wong$ has lost it w before o :

$\bar{p}wong$ $\bar{p}o\bar{n}g$ thong.

Note 2: NE. $thwart$ (< ON. $\bar{p}vert$) is seldom found in the dialect. The same thing applies to the derivatives of this word.

th , (\bar{d}).

§ 88.

1. ME. \bar{p} (\bar{d}) has remained medially and in NE. final position.

ME.	OD.	NE.
brōther	$bru\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	brother
either	$\bar{e}i\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	either
ferthing	$f\bar{a}^r\bar{d}in$	farthing
lather	$lo\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	lather
nouthur	$n\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	neither
bāthe	$b\bar{e}i\bar{d}$	bathe
bōthe	$b\bar{u}\bar{d}$	booth

ME.	OD.	NE.
brēthe	$br\bar{i}\bar{d}$	breath
smōthe	$sm\bar{u}\bar{d}$	smooth.

Note 1: $\bar{d} > \bar{p}$ however in:

bōthe	$b\bar{u}\bar{a}\bar{p}$	both
benēthe	$bin\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{p}$	beneath.

Note 2: Concerning plural forms $m\bar{e}u\bar{p}s$ &c. cp. Accidence.

2. ME. *p* (*ð*) = *d*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aforthe	<i>afōrd</i>	afford
fīthel	<i>fīdl</i>	fiddle
morder	<i>mōrdar</i> (<i>mōrdār</i>)	murder
spīther	<i>spaidar</i> (<i>spaidār</i>)	spider

ME.	OD.	NE.
swathele	<i>swadl</i>	swaddle.

Note: *kud* (could) > OE. *coupe* shows same analogical formation as in lit. Engl.

clōthes	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes.
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S.

§ 89.

Initially.

ME. *s* has remained in simple and in compound words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
certain	<i>sār̃tin</i>	certain
sand	<i>sond</i>	sand
salt	<i>sōt</i>	salt
spēke	<i>spēik</i>	speak
stōn	<i>stūan</i>	stone
handsom	<i>ansam</i>	handsome
him-self	<i>issél, isél</i> <i>issén, isén</i>	himself
me-self	<i>mis(s)él</i> <i>mis(s)én</i>	myself
in-side	<i>insoid</i>	inside.

Finally.

1. ME. *s* has remained α) in words ending in *s*, and β) in the ending of the Nom. Pl. and the Gen. case, when an unvoiced consonant precedes.

1.

fāce, fās	<i>fēs</i>	face
gēs	<i>gīs</i>	geese
kiss	<i>kis</i> ¹	kiss
mous	<i>mēus</i>	mouse
vois	<i>vois</i>	voice.

2.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bōkes	<i>būks</i>	books
cates	<i>kats</i>	cats
schipes	<i>šips</i>	ships
wifes	<i>wīf's</i>	wife's
wulfes	<i>wulf's</i>	wolf's.

2. After Voiced Consonants or Vowels ME. final inflexional *s* appears as *z*.

bedes	<i>bedz</i>	beds
clōthes	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes
daies	<i>dēz</i>	days
(dōth) does	<i>duz</i>	does
fēldes	<i>fīlds</i>	fields
loves	<i>luvz</i>	loves
pens	<i>penz</i>	pens.

3. ME. *s* has been dropped where it has been mistaken for a plural ending.

chemise	<i>šimi</i>	chemise
chery (Fr. čerise)	<i>tšeri, tširi</i>	cherry
pēs	<i>pēi</i>	pea
rēdels	<i>ridl</i>	riddle.

¹ The common word in the dialect is *bās* (*bus*).

4. *s* has been added during the ME. period (original plural forms).

ME.	OD.	NE.
belwe(s)	<i>baliz(iz)</i>	bellows
galwes	<i>galeziz</i>	braces
smal-pokke	<i>smōpoks</i>	small-pox
trewes	<i>treus</i>	truce.

Note: ME. *s* = French *s*:

1. French voiceless *s* remains as *s*.

bāsin	<i>bēsn</i>	basin
counseil	<i>kēunsil</i>	counsel

ME.	OD.	NE.
hospitalle	<i>q̄rspitl</i>	hospital
lossoun	<i>lesn</i>	lesson
sauce + age	<i>sosidž, sosindzər</i>	sausage.

2. ME. *s* (= Fr. *s*) + *i* > *š*.

misiōn	<i>mišn</i>	mission
nacion,	<i>nēšn</i>	nation
nacioun		
pacient	<i>pēšnt</i>	patient
special	<i>spēʃl</i>	special
staciōn	<i>stēʃn</i>	station
sücre, sügre	<i>šugər</i>	sugar
(Lat. assūmere)	<i>əšūm</i>	assume.

z.

§ 90.

ME. *z* occurs medially and finally.

I. Medially ME. *z* remains unchanged.

ME.	OD.	NE.
besom	<i>bīzm</i>	besom
frosen	<i>froz n</i>	frozen
husbonde(?)	<i>uzbānt</i>	husband
fēsaun	<i>feznt</i>	pheasant
prisoun	<i>priz n</i>	prison.

II. ME. *z* has remained in NE. final position.

(as)sise	<i>sai z</i>	size
chēse	<i>tšiz</i>	cheese
ēse + y	<i>jezi</i>	easy
plēse	<i>plez</i>	please
wīse	<i>waiz</i>	wise.

Note: ME. *z* = French *z*:

ME. *z* (= Fr. *z*) remains as *z*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
excūsen	<i>ekskjūz</i>	excuse
mēsure	<i>mezər</i>	measure
plēsure	<i>plezər</i>	pleasure
preisen	<i>prez</i>	praise
refūsen	<i>rifjūz</i>	refuse
ūsen	<i>jūz</i>	use.

The form *trezər* for "treasure" is however not noted in any glossary of the OD., tho' it occurs in East Lincoln., cp. Wright EDD.

Note: *siðər z* (scissors) with *ð* for *z*, cp. Horn, Anglia-Beiblatt XVII, 64, and Ritter, Archiv CXV, 175.

š.

§ 91.

I. Initially ME. *š* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schadwe	<i>šadā</i>	shadow
schip	<i>šip</i>	ship
schutte	<i>šut</i>	shut
schort	<i>šq̄rt</i>	short.

II. Medially ME. *š* has also remained.

bisshop	<i>bišap</i>	bishop
buschel	<i>bušl</i>	bushel
cuishin	<i>kwīšin</i>	cushion
musheroun	<i>mušrēum</i>	mushroom.

III. Finally.

1. ME. *š* has remained in
α) ME. and β) NE. final positions.

α)

busch	<i>buš (buiš)</i>	bush
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ME.	OD.	NE.
disch	<i>dīš</i>	dish
fisch	<i>fīš</i>	fish
flesch	<i>flēiš</i>	flesh.
β)		
dasshe	<i>daiš</i>	dash
lasshe	<i>laiš</i>	lash
wasshe	<i>wēiš, weš</i>	wash
wisshe	<i>wīš</i>	wish.

2. In place of ME. *sch* we find *s* in:

asche	<i>es</i>	ash.
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Note: ME. *sk* > *s* in:

menske-ful	<i>mensfu</i>	decent, neat.
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Cp. Horn "Gutturallaute" p. 19 ff.

tš.

§ 92.

I. Initially.

ME. *ch* remains as *tš*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
chaine	<i>tšian</i>	chain
chalk	<i>tšq̄k</i>	chalk
chaunce	<i>tšons</i>	chance
chaunge	<i>tšondž</i>	change
chap (-man)	<i>tšap</i>	chap.

II. Medially.

1. ME. *ch* remains except in certain combinations.

boucher	<i>butšar</i>	butcher
kicchen	<i>kitšan</i>	kitchen
marchaunt	<i>mārtsant</i>	merchant.

2. ME. *lch* (*ltš*), *nch* (*ntš*) have either remained as *ltš*, *ntš* or have become *lš*, *tš* as in lit. English

ME.	OD.	NE.
belke	<i>bel(t)š</i>	belch
(belche)		
bench	<i>ben(t)š</i>	bench
braunche	<i>brq̄n(t)š</i>	branch
	<i>bron(t)š</i>	
inche	<i>in(t)š</i>	inch
wenche	<i>wen(t)š</i>	wench.

* Note: Medially the combination *ltš*, *ntš* appears as *ltš*, *ntš* finally as *lš*, *nš*.

III. Finally.

1. ME. *tš* remains in accented syllables (NE. final position).

ME.	OD.	NE.
bicche	<i>bitš</i>	bitch
blēche	<i>blē'tš</i>	bleach
focche	<i>fotš</i>	fetch
prēche	<i>prētš</i>	preach
sēche	<i>sītš</i>	seek.

Note: Observe *k* in *flik* (*flitš*) = *fitch*.

2. ME. *ch* in unstressed syllables appears both as α) *dž*, and β) *tš*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cartidge	<i>kār'tridž</i>	cartridge
knowlēche	<i>nolidž</i>	knowledge

ME.	OD.	NE.
cabbache	<i>kabitž</i>	cabbage
Northwiche	<i>Nōr'pwitš</i>	Northwich
ostriche	<i>ostritš</i>	ostrich.

dž.

§ 93.

ME. *dž* appears in all positions, though it is occasionally pronounced *ž* in the combination *ndž*.

1. ME. *dž* (*ǵǵ*) = OE. *čǵ*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
brīǵǵe	<i>bridž</i>	bridge
eǵǵe	<i>edž</i>	edge
fleǵǵe	<i>fledž</i>	fledge
heǵǵe	<i>edž</i>	hedge
miǵǵe	<i>midž</i>	midge
riǵǵe	<i>ridž</i>	ridge
seǵǵe	<i>sedž</i>	sedge
weǵǵe	<i>wedž</i>	wedge.

Note: Observe the two forms *Magi* and *Madž* (= *Maggie* and *Madge*) side by side as contractions for *Margeret*.

2. ME. *dž* (*j, g*) = Fr. *g, j*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ǵail	<i>džē'il</i>	jail
general	<i>dženəral</i>	general
joine	<i>džəin</i>	join
jūge	<i>džudž</i>	judge
engin	<i>indžin</i>	engine
religioun	<i>rilidžən</i>	religion.

3. *dž* in the Combination *ndž*.

daunger	<i>dōn(d)žer</i>	danger
henge	<i>in(d)ž</i>	hinge
orenge	<i>orin(d)ž</i>	orange
straunge	<i>strōn(d)ž</i>	strange
straunger	<i>strōn(d)zə</i>	stranger.

Note: The combination *ndž* is pronounced indifferently as *ndž* or *nž*, tho' the former is the more usual pronunciation when it stands medially.

n.

§ 94.

I. Initially *n* remains.

ME.	OD.	NE.
name	<i>nē'im</i>	name
nēdle	<i>nēdl</i>	needle

ME.	OD.	NE.
night	<i>nīt</i>	night
noise	<i>noiz</i>	noise
now	<i>neū</i>	now.

Note: *n* has, however, been dropped initially in the following words, it being falsely thought to belong to the indefinite article.

ME.	OD.	NE.
nadder, adder	<i>atər</i>	poison
napron	<i>apərⁿ</i>	apron
noumpēre	<i>umpāier</i>	umpire.

II. Medially.

knē	<i>nī</i>	knee
knōwe	<i>nō</i>	know
gnar	<i>nārlt</i>	cross-tem- pered
snaw	<i>snō, snō</i>	snow
snoute	<i>sneut</i>	snout
binēde	<i>binīap</i>	beneath
enemi	<i>inimi</i>	enemy
honest	<i>onist</i>	honest
moni	<i>moni</i>	many
peniz	<i>peni</i>	penny
almande	<i>qmand</i>	almond
bench	<i>bentš</i>	bench
counte	<i>keunt</i>	count
ground	<i>greund, grun(d)</i>	ground
hunte(r)	<i>untər (unpər)</i>	hunter
mountaine	<i>meuntin</i>	mountain
round	<i>reund</i>	round
straunge	<i>strōndz</i>	strange.

2. *n* has been dropped.

α) In the combination *ln*.

kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln
milne	<i>mil</i>	mill.

β) In the combination *mn*.

autumpne	<i>qtam</i>	autumn
columne	<i>kolam</i>	column
dam(p)ne	<i>dom</i>	damn
ymp(n)e	<i>im</i>	hymn.

Note: *n* has been inserted medially in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
messaġer	<i>mesindžər</i>	messenger
passaġer	<i>pasindžər</i>	passenger
sauce-age	<i>sosindžər</i>	sausage.

Cp. Luick, Archiv CXIV, 76.

III. Finally.

1. In ME. final position.

α) In stressed syllables *n* is retained.

boun	<i>bəun</i>	prepared, ready.
man, mon	<i>mon</i>	man
quēn	<i>kwīn</i>	queen
wīn	<i>wāin</i>	wine.

β) In unstressed syllables or words *n* is dropped.*

in	<i>i</i>	in
an	<i>a</i>	an, a.

* In some cases the *n* is still retained by analogy with inflected forms, cp. Köppel, Archiv CIV.

brazen	<i>brazn</i>	brazen
īren	<i>aiərⁿ</i>	iron
ōpen	<i>opn</i>	open
ōven	<i>ūn</i>	oven.

2. In NE. final position usually retained.

bitwēne	<i>bitwīn</i>	between
canne	<i>kon</i>	can, may
chaine	<i>tšian</i>	chain
droune	<i>dreun</i>	drown
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign
grēne	<i>grīn</i>	green.

1.

§ 95.

I. Initially. ME. *l* has remained unchanged in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
lamb	<i>lam, lom</i>	lamb
large	<i>lār dž</i>	large
lēde	<i>lād</i>	lead
level	<i>levl</i>	level
litel	<i>litl</i>	little
long	<i>long</i>	long
lōrd	<i>lōrd</i>	lord
lond	<i>lond</i>	land
love	<i>luv</i>	love.

II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *l*.

blame	<i>blēim</i>	blame
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
clēne	<i>tlīn</i>	clean
clēr	<i>tlīār</i>	clear
flesch	<i>flaīš, flēiš</i>	flesh, meat
flour	<i>fluar</i>	flour
flour	<i>fluar, flār</i>	flower
glad	<i>dlad</i>	glad
glōrie	<i>dlōri</i>	glory
place	<i>plēs</i>	place
pleie	<i>plei</i>	play
slēpe	<i>slīp</i>	sleep.

b) Before Vowels (and *w*).

colour	<i>kulār</i>	colour
delīt	<i>dilīt</i>	delight
Engeland	<i>Inglond</i>	England
felawe	<i>feli</i>	fellow
folwe	<i>folā(r)</i>	follow
galwes	<i>galāsis</i>	braces
wilwe	<i>wilā(r)</i>	willow.

c) Before Consonants.

ME. *l* has been dropped:

α) before Labials, β) before Gutturals, γ) before Dentals.

α) Before Labials (*v, f, m*).

ME.	OD.	NE.
calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf
half	<i>ōf, ōv (ēif, Rochdale)</i>	half
almannde	<i>ōmānd</i>	almond
almes	<i>ōmes, ōmz</i>	alms
bal(s)me	<i>bōm</i>	balm
calme	<i>kōm</i>	calm.

β) Before Gutturals.

balke	<i>bōk</i>	a log
folk	<i>fōk (fok)</i>	folk
talken	<i>tōk</i>	talk
walke	<i>wōk</i>	walk
zolke	<i>jōk</i>	yolk.

γ) Before Dentals.

alter	<i>ōtār</i>	alter
bāld	<i>bāud</i>	bold
balled	<i>bōd</i>	bald
bolt	<i>bant</i>	bolt
cōld	<i>kāud</i>	cold
colt	<i>kaut</i>	colt
fals	<i>fōs</i>	sly, cunning
fōlde	<i>fāud</i>	fold (vb)
gōld	<i>gāud</i>	gold
schulde*	<i>šud</i>	should
wolde,	<i>wud</i>	would.
wulde*		

* Note: Unaccented Words.

III. Finally.

1. In ME. final position: α) *l* has generally remained after palatal vowels, β) has disappeared after velar vowels.

α) Final *l* retained.

al	<i>ōl (ō)</i>	all
crüel	<i>krūil</i>	cruel

ME.	OD.	NE.
dēl	<i>dīal</i>	deal
ful	<i>ful (fū)</i>	full
hōl	<i>wul</i>	whole.

β) Final *l* dropped.

al	<i>ō (ōl)</i>	all
ball	<i>bō</i>	ball
cōl	<i>kū</i>	cool
dōl	<i>dau</i>	dole
fōl	<i>fū</i>	fool
foul	<i>fēu</i>	foul
ful	<i>fū (ful)</i>	full
stol	<i>stū</i>	stool.

2. In NE. final position.

α) *l* has been retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ale	<i>ēil</i>	ale
falle	<i>fōl (fō)</i>	fall
fille	<i>fil</i>	fill
mille	<i>mil</i>	mill
soule	<i>saul</i>	soul
stēle	<i>stēil</i>	steal
tale	<i>tēil</i>	tale
telle	<i>tel</i>	tell.

β) *l* has been dropped.

calle	<i>kō</i>	call
falle	<i>fō, fo (fōl)</i>	fall.

r.

§ 96.

I. Initially. ME. *r* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
rain, rein	<i>rēn</i>	rain
rēde	<i>rīd, rīad</i>	read
rēsonn	<i>rēzn</i>	reason
riche	<i>ritš</i>	rich
rīde	<i>rīd</i>	ride
ring	<i>riŋg</i>	ring
riwér	<i>riwər</i>	river
rōf	<i>rūf</i>	roof
rōte	<i>rūt</i>	root
roum	<i>reum</i>	room
round	<i>reund</i>	round.

II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *r*.

braunche	<i>brontš</i>	branch
bringe	<i>bring</i>	bring
crēpe	<i>krīp, krīap</i>	creep
crūne	<i>kreun</i>	crown
frē	<i>frī</i>	free
frūt	<i>frūt</i>	fruit

ME.	OD.	NE.
grēne	<i>grīn</i>	green
prēst	<i>prēst</i>	priest
prīs	<i>prais</i>	price
schroud	<i>šraud</i>	shroud
sprēde	<i>sprīad</i>	spread
strēte	<i>strīt</i>	street
strīf	<i>strīf</i>	strife
trē	<i>trī</i>	tree
wrīte	<i>rait</i>	write.

b) Before Vowels (and *w*) *r* is retained.

arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
berie	<i>beri, bəri</i>	berry
borwe	<i>bore(r)</i>	borrow
carie	<i>kari</i>	carry
marie	<i>mari</i>	marry
Marie	<i>Mē-ri (Mīari)</i>	Mary
mirie	<i>mari(meri)</i>	merry
sorwe	<i>sorə(r)</i>	sorrow
to-morwe	<i>tu-morə(r)</i>	to-morrow
verrai,	<i>veri, vəri</i>	very.
verrei		

c) Before Consonants.

α) ME. *r* has been much weakened, but mostly retained, cp. § 2, "*r*".

ME.	OD.	NE.
arm	<i>ā^rm</i>	arm
art, ert	<i>ā^rt, ē^rt</i>	art
cōrn	<i>kā^rn</i>	corn
hard	<i>ā^rd</i>	hard
harpe	<i>ā^rp</i>	harp
kerve	<i>kā^rv, kē^rv</i>	carve
lērne	<i>lā^rn</i>	learn
marbre, marble	<i>mā^rbl</i>	marble
purpre	<i>pā^rpl</i>	purple
scharp	<i>šā^rp</i>	sharp
schort	<i>šō^rt</i>	short
sēve	<i>sā^rv</i>	serve
word	<i>wā^rd</i>	word
werk	<i>wā^rk</i>	work (sb)
worth, wurth	<i>wā^rp</i>	worth.

β) But before *s*, *r* has been dropped.

berste	<i>bust</i> (<i>brast</i>)	burst
hors	<i>os</i>	horse
first	<i>fust, fost</i>	first
worse, wurse	<i>wus (wā^r)</i>	worse
worsted	<i>wustid</i>	worsted.

Note: *uas* = *hoarse* < ME. *hōrs* or *hōs* had originally no *r*, cp. Hargreaves § 66, 2, Note.

d) Metathesis of ME. medial *r*.

α) Metathesis has taken place in:

berste	<i>brast</i>	burst
berne	<i>brun, bræn</i>	burn
grinne	<i>gā^rn</i>	grin

ME.	OD.	NE.
kirnel	<i>krindl</i> (<i>kā^rnel</i>)	kernel
scurf	<i>skruf</i>	scurf
hundred.	<i>undā^rt</i>	humdred.

β) Double forms are to be found in:

firmenty	<i>fā^rmetri</i> <i>frāmetri</i>	} frumenty a bake- stone.
gredil	<i>gridl</i> <i>gā^rdl</i>	

Note: Contrary to the literary language, metathesis has not taken place in:

brid	<i>brid</i>	bird
crudde	<i>krud</i>	curd.

III. Finally.

In ME. and NE. Final Position *r* is retained in a strongly weakened form, cp. Note *.

fāder	<i>fā^rdā^r, fēⁱdā^r</i>	father
fir	<i>fāⁱe^r</i>	fire
modor	<i>mudā^r</i>	mother
sūr, seūr	<i>šūā^r</i>	sure
tour	<i>teuā^r</i>	tower
bēre	<i>bēā^r</i>	bear
care	<i>kēā^r</i>	care
childre	<i>tšildā^r, tšildā^r</i>	children
ēre	<i>īā^r</i>	ear
hēre	<i>īā^r</i>	here
mōre	<i>mūā^r</i>	more
oure	<i>euā^r</i>	our
philosophre	<i>filosofā^r</i>	philosopher
sterre	<i>stā^r</i>	star
theatre	<i>piētā^r</i>	theatre.

* Note: When a word ending with *r* precedes one beginning with a vowel, the *r* is sounded strongly as in a medial position before a

vowel. Moreover an *r* is often inserted between two words in a sentence, when the first ends and the second begins with a vowel, or even weakly sounded after a word ending in a vowel, even when no word beginning with a vowel follows. Examples:

- a) *ǣrt gūin t(ə) ƿær-aus?* = "Are you going to our house?"
 b) *ī wontid tǣ borǣr ə šilin ǣtū* = "he wanted to borrow a shilling or two."
 c) *wīv got ə bō-n-arǣr* = "we have got a bow and arrow."

Appendix.

tī, dī.

ME. *tī, dī* do not become *tš, dž* in the OD., except some forms influenced by the lit. language (cp. Horn, Unters. p. 86 and following).

ME.	OD.	NE.
crea ^{ture}	<i>krētǣr,</i> <i>krētđǣr</i>	creature
fort ^{une}	<i>fōrtin</i> <i>(fārtin)</i>	fortune
fournit ^{ure}	<i>fornitšǣr</i>	furniture
natur ^e	<i>nētǣr,</i> <i>nētđǣr</i>	nature
pic ^{ture}	<i>piktǣr</i>	picture

ME.	OD.	NE.
rupt ^{ure}	<i>raptǣr,</i> <i>rapsšǣr</i>	rupture
Script ^{ure}	<i>Scripšǣr</i>	Scripture
(ad)vent ^{ure}	<i>ventǣr,</i> <i>ventđǣr</i>	venture
questioun	<i>kwestjan,</i> <i>kwestšan</i>	question
tune	<i>tjūn, tšūn</i>	tune
soudiour	<i>sāudžǣr,</i> <i>sōdžǣr</i>	soldier
Indian	<i>Indžan</i>	Indian.
Note: For <i>duke</i> &c. cp. § 33.		

III. GUTTURALS.

k.

§ 97.

I. Initially.

- α) *k* preserved, except in certain combinations.

ME.	OD.	NE.
calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf
can	<i>kon</i>	can
cōld	<i>kaud</i>	cold
crēpe	<i>krīp</i>	creep

ME.	OD.	NE.
keie	<i>kēⁱ</i>	key
kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln.

- β) *k* is dropped before *n* as in lit. English.

knēde	<i>nēⁱd, nīd</i>	knead
knē	<i>nī</i>	knee

ME.	OD.	NE.
knōwe	<i>nō</i>	know
knīf	<i>naif</i>	knife.

γ) *kl* > *tl*.

clemmen	<i>tlam, tlem</i>	to famish
clēne	<i>tlēn</i>	clean
clōth	<i>tlōp</i>	cloth
cloude	<i>tleud</i>	cloud
clokke	<i>tlok</i>	clock
clout	<i>tleut</i>	rag.

δ) ME. *kw* (*qu*) has mostly been preserved in the OD. — It occurs initially and medially.

1. *kw* preserved.

quāke	<i>kwēk</i>	quake
qvalitē	<i>kwaliti</i>	quality
qvarter	<i>kwārtā</i>	quarter
quasi	<i>kwīzi</i>	qualmish
quēn	<i>kwīn</i>	queen
qvestioun	<i>kweštān</i>	question
qviēte	<i>kwaiet</i>	quiet
quishin	<i>kwīšin</i>	cushion.

(OFr. *cuissin*)

2. In a few isolated cases initial *kw* > *w* or *tw*.

quick	<i>wik</i>	quick, live
quilde	<i>twilt</i>	quilt (of a bed).

II. Medially.

α) *kw* preserved (cp. I, δ).

acquainte	<i>akwēnt</i>	acquaint
begvēthe	<i>bikwīd</i>	bequeathe
consequent	<i>konsi-</i>	conse-
	<i>kwens</i>	quence
egval	<i>ēkwil</i>	equal
requīren	<i>rikwāi</i>	require.

β) *k* preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
scabbe	<i>skab</i>	scab
scars	<i>skārs</i>	scarce
scurf	<i>skrūf</i>	scurf
aker	<i>akār</i>	acre
acorn	<i>akār n</i>	acorn
because	<i>bikoz</i>	because
licour	<i>likār</i>	liquor
huckstere	<i>ukstār</i>	huckster
encrees	<i>inkrīs</i>	increase.

γ) *kl* > *tl* (cp. I, γ).

inclinen	<i>intlāin</i>	incline
cokel	<i>kotl</i>	cockle
pikel + s	<i>pitlz</i>	pickles
sikel	<i>sitl</i>	sickle
twincle	<i>twintl</i>	twinkle.

Note: The following hyper-literary forms are occasionally found in the OD.

botel	<i>bokl</i>	bottle
ketel	<i>kek(e)l</i>	kettle
litel	<i>likl</i>	little.

δ) *k* dropped before *ed*.

croked	<i>krūt</i>	crooked.
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ε) *k* dropped between *s* and *l*.

muscle	<i>musl</i>	muscle.
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III. Finally (ME. and NE) *k* always remains.

brōk	<i>brūk</i>	brook
nōk	<i>nūk</i>	nook
ōk	<i>ōk</i>	oak
quick	<i>kwik</i>	quick
bāke	<i>bēk (bak)</i>	bake
māke	<i>mēk, mak</i>	make
tāke	<i>tek, tak</i>	take
walke	<i>wōk</i>	walk.

g.

§ 98.

ME. *g* has remained unchanged, except initially before *l* and *n*.

I. Initially.

α) *g* preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
gamen	<i>gam</i>	fun
gōld	<i>gaud</i>	gold
gras	<i>gras, gær's</i>	grass
girl, gerl	<i>gār'l</i>	girl
gesse	<i>ges</i>	guess.

β) *gl* > *dl*.

glad	<i>dlad</i>	glad
glas	<i>dlas</i>	glass
glorie	<i>dlōri</i>	glory
gloppned	<i>dlopnt</i>	terrified
glenten	<i>dlent</i>	a look, glance.

γ) *g* is dropped before *n*.

gnawe	<i>nō</i>	gnaw
gnat	<i>nat</i>	gnat

ME.	OD.	NE.
(gnarl)	<i>nār'l</i>	gnarl
gnaste	<i>naš</i>	gnash.

Note: The following words are of Scandinavian origin:

<i>gift</i>	gift
<i>git</i>	get
<i>giv</i>	give
<i>forget</i>	forget
<i>fær'giv</i>	forgive.

II. Medially *g* is preserved.

agō(n)	<i>agō</i>	ago
beginne	<i>bigin</i>	begin
forget	<i>fær'get</i>	forget
agree	<i>agrī</i>	agree
bügle	<i>bjūgl</i>	bugle
gingle	<i>džingl</i>	jingle.

III. Finally *g* is preserved.

fig	<i>fig</i>	fig
leg	<i>leg</i>	leg
bagge	<i>bag</i>	bag
nagge	<i>nag</i>	horse
pegge	<i>peg</i>	peg.

χ' (*ich-laut*).

§ 99.

ME. *χ'* has disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened:

ME.	OD.	NE.
bright	<i>brīt</i>	bright
fight	<i>fē't</i>	fight
light	<i>līt</i>	light

ME.	OD.	NE.
night	<i>nīt</i>	night
right	<i>rīt</i>	right
sight	<i>sīt</i>	sight
weight	<i>wē't</i>	weight.

χ (*ach-laut*).

§ 100.

ME. *gh* occurs medially and finally.

I. Medially.

α) ME. *gh* has dropped before *t*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aught	<i>aut</i>	aught
brozte	<i>braut</i>	brought
doughter	<i>daut̃r</i>	daughter
feahte	<i>faut</i>	fought
naught	<i>naut</i>	naught
naught + y	<i>nauti</i>	naughty
slaughter	<i>slaut̃r</i>	slaughter
thought	<i>þaut</i>	thought.

β) *gh* + *t* = *ft* in the following.

draught	<i>drauft</i>	draught.
	(<i>draut</i> , <i>dr̃ait</i>)	

II. Finally.

1. ME. *gh* appears as *f* or is dropped. Most words in the dialect appear with both forms.

bough (<i>bōw</i>)	<i>būf</i> , <i>b̃af</i> , <i>bū</i>	bough
chough	<i>t̃sauƿ</i>	chough
dough	<i>dauf</i> , <i>dōf</i> <i>dof</i>	dough

ME.	OD.	NE.
dwergh	<i>dw̃q̃rf</i>	dwarf
inough	<i>inūf</i> , <i>inū</i>	enough
plough (<i>plow</i>)	<i>plū</i>	plough
rough	<i>rūf</i> , <i>rū</i>	rough
slough	<i>sl̃af</i> , <i>slau</i>	slough
	<i>đō</i>	} though
though	(stressed) <i>đo</i>	
	(unstr.)	
thuruh	<i>þruf</i> , <i>þrū</i> , ¹ <i>þraf</i>	through
tough	<i>tauf</i>	tough
trogh	<i>trauf</i> , <i>trōf</i>	trough.

Note: The forms of substantives and adjectives without *f* are derived from the oblique cases (cp. Köppel, Archiv 104).

2. The change of OE. χ into *k* is found in:

flē (OE. = *flēik*, *flek* flea.
flēah)

For explanation see Horn, Gutturallaute, p. 94.

γ .

§ 101.

I. Initially.

1. ME. γ , *y* (*j*) from OE. sources has remained in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
$\gammãē$	<i>je</i>	ye
$\gammãē$	<i>jai</i>	yes, yea

ME.	OD.	NE.
zelde	<i>j̃æld</i>	yield
zelle	<i>jel</i>	yell
zelwe	<i>jala</i>	yellow
$\gammãēr$	<i>j̃ēr</i> , <i>j̃ār</i>	year
zerd	<i>j̃ār̃d</i> , <i>j̃ār̃d</i>	yard
zesterday	<i>jest̃ardi</i>	yesterday

¹ The form *þruf* (*þraf*) is noted by Taylor as obsolescent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ȝet	<i>jit</i>	yet
ȝon	<i>jon</i>	yon
ȝōng	<i>jūng</i>	young
ȝure	<i>jāʀ</i>	your.

2. Initial ȝ had already disappeared in the ME. period in the following.

icche	<i>itš</i>	itch
if	<i>if</i>	if

ME.	OD.	NE.
inough	<i>inūf</i>	enough
(ȝewaer)	<i>(ə)waʀ</i>	aware.
iwar		

II. Medially.

ME. ȝ was lost during the ME. period in:

eȝe, eie	<i>ai</i>	eye
flēȝe, flīe	<i>flai</i>	fly
hēh, heigh	<i>hai</i>	high
nīne	<i>nain</i>	nine.

ng.

§ 102.

Note: In the OD. *ŋ* is never found alone, being always followed by *g*, this *g*, when final, being occasionally hardened to *k* under the influence of neighbouring dialects (Ashton).

I. Medially *ŋg* is retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
England	<i>Inglond</i>	England
finger	<i>fiŋgər</i>	finger
langage	<i>laŋgwidž</i> ¹	language
lengre, lenger	<i>loŋgər</i>	longer
singer	<i>siŋgər</i>	singer
stronger	<i>stroŋgər</i>	stronger.

II. Finally.

a) ME. *ŋg* is retained in accented syllables.

king	<i>kiŋg</i>	king
(lang) long	<i>loŋg</i>	long
ring	<i>riŋg</i>	ring

ME.	OD.	NE.
(strang)	<i>strong</i>	strong
strong		
thing	<i>þiŋg</i>	thing.

Note: Nearly all the above are found also with the ending *ŋk*, these forms being imported from Ashton. The same remark applies to the words which follow under b).

b) *ŋg* (final) has become *n* in the present participles of all verbs and in substantives of more than one syllable, i. e. in all unaccented positions.

α)

swilling	<i>swilin</i>	swilling
swelowing	<i>swalərin</i>	swallowing
werking	<i>wəʀtšin</i>	working

β)

ferthing	<i>fārđin</i>	farthing
lerning	<i>lārnin</i>	learning

¹ Concerning the insertion of *w* in *langwidž* cp. Köppel, "Spelling Pronunciations" p. 23, 2.

ME.	OD.	NE.
nothing	<i>nuþin</i>	nothing
schilling	<i>šilin</i>	shilling.

Also in:

among	<i>amūn</i>	among.
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Note: *ŋ* is sometimes wrongly put for *n* at the end of words,

cp. *mēunting* = mountain, *kārting* (*kārtnār*) curtain (hyperliterary English).

Similarly *ŋg* has been inserted in the word *milingtārī* = military.

§ 103.

ME. *ŋk* remains both medially and finally.

I. Medially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
anker	<i>onkār</i>	anchor
ankel	<i>onk(ə)l</i>	ankle
conqueren	<i>konkār</i>	conquer
drunken	<i>drunkn</i>	drunken
uncle	<i>unkl</i>	uncle.

II. Finally (ME. and NE. final position).

bank	<i>bonk</i>	bank
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ME.	OD.	NE.
dank	<i>danċ</i>	dank
monk	<i>monċ</i>	monk
drinke	<i>drinċ</i>	drink
sinke	<i>sinċ</i>	sink
stinke	<i>stinċ</i>	stink.

In the combination *ngth* the OD. has often *ŋkþ*.

length	<i>lenċþ</i>	length
strength	<i>strenċþ</i>	strength.

IV. ASPIRATE.

h.

§ 104.

ME. *h* has mostly disappeared. — It only occurs initially and medially when sounded at all.*

I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
happene	<i>apn</i>	happen
hēr	<i>ēār</i>	hair
hero	<i>īaro</i>	hero
honest	<i>onist</i>	honest

ME.	OD.	NE.
hous	<i>ēus</i>	house
hundred	<i>undār t,</i> <i>undārt</i>	hundred.

* Note: When the word is strongly stressed, an initial *h* is sometimes sounded. Hyperliterary forms with an etymologically unjustifiable *h* are also frequent e. g.:

ME.	OD.	NE.
appel	<i>hapl</i>	apple
asse	<i>has</i>	ass.

ME.	OD.	NE.
enhabiten	<i>inabit</i>	inhabit
reherce	<i>ri-ð's</i>	rehearse.

II. Medially.

behāve	<i>bi-ē'v</i>	behave
behinde	<i>bi-aind</i> (<i>bihant</i>)	behind

Note: Medial *h* is hardly ever sounded.

Note: For the prefixing of *j*, after the dropping of *h*, cp. § 16, 2.

PART. II.

ACCIDENCE.

CHAPTER V.

NOUNS.

I. FORMATION OF THE PLURAL.

§ 105.

a) Ordinary Plural Endings.

The usual method of forming the plural in the OD. is by the addition of *s*, *z* or *iz*.

1. Plural in *s*. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than *s*, *š*, add *s* to form the plural, e. g.: *brūk* (brook), *brūks*; *kat* (cat), *kats*; *top* (top), *tops*; *rūf* (roof), *rūfs*.

2. Plural in *z*. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than *z* or *ž*, add *z* to form the plural, e. g.: *kəu* (cow), *kəuz*; *flai* (fly), *flaiz*; *flūər* (floor), *flūərz*; *kitlin* (kitlen), *kitlinz*.

3. Plural in *iz*. Nouns ending in *s*, *š*, *z* or *ž* add *iz* to form the plural, e. g.: *las* (lass), *lasiz*; *fēs* (face), *fēsiz* [observe, however, *əus* (house), pl. *əuziz*]; *matš* (match), *matšiz*; *nuəz* (nose), *nuəziz*; *bridž* (bridge), *bridžiz*.

b) Final Stem-Sound (Stammauslaut).

1. Nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel or *l* change the *f* into *v*, e. g.: *ləif* (life), *ləivz*; *nəif* (knife), *nəivz*; *pīf* (thief), *pīvz*; *wəif* (wife), *wəivz*; *wulf* (wolf), *wulvz*. — Exceptions: *ūfs* (hoofs); *rūfs* (roofs); *stafs* (staffs); *tlifs* (cliffs).

Note: Nouns ending in *lf* have changed the *f* into *v* in the Sing. by analogy with the plural, e. g.: *ōv* (half), *q̄vz*; *kq̄v* (calf), *kq̄vz*.

2. Nouns ending in *p* sometimes change the *p* into *đ* (*p* is usually preserved), e. g.: *mēup* (mouth), *mēuđz*; *trēup* (truth), *trēuđz*; — but *baṗ* (bath), *baṗs*; *pāṗ* (path), *paṗs* &c.

Note: The *p* has dropped in the pl. form *tlōz* (clothes).

c) Plurals formed otherwise than by *s*-suffix.

1. Plurals in *n*. Plurals in *n* are still found in: *ī* (eye), *īn*; *šū* (shoe), *šūn*; *oks* (ox), *oksən*, or *eksən* (almost obsolete, cp. Taylor).

2. Plurals in *ər*. The only one still remaining is: *tsəilt* (child), *tšildər*.

3. Plurals with “Umlaut”: *fut* (foot), *fīt*; *gūs* (goose), *gīs*; *lēus* (louse), *lāis*; *mēus* (mouse), *māis*; *tūṗ* (tooth), *tīṗ*; *man*, *mon* (man), *men*. — Observe: *wumən* (woman), *wimin*.

4. Singular and Plural are alike in the following: *bias* = beast, beasts¹; *es* (*as*) = ash, ashes; *fīš* = fish, fishes; *šīp* = sheep.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure and number, when preceded by a cardinal number, have singular and plural alike, e. g.: *fəiv munṗ* = five months; *siks wīk* = six weeks; *sevn mēil* = seven miles; *prī tun* = three tons; *ēīt pēund* = eight pounds; *fōər* (*fēuər*) *ēuns* = four ounces; *ten skōər* = ten score; *ilevn jārđ* = eleven yards, &c.

5. Nouns used only in the plural: *aksinz* (askings) = banns of marriage; *bođəmz* = sediments; *līts* = lights (lungs) of animals; *mēzlez* = measles; *sidərz* = scissors; *trēuziz* = trousers; *tunġz* = tongs.

Note: A double plural is found in *galəziz* = braces.

II. FORMATION OF THE GENITIVE.

The Genitive is formed as in the literary language: *ēuər muđərz* *ēus* = our mother's house; *jōər wentšiz ats* = your girl's hats.

¹ Cp. § 85, III.

CHAPTER VI.

ADJECTIVES.

COMPARISON.

§ 106.

I. Regular Comparison. The Comparative is formed by the addition of *-əʳ* and the Superlative by that of *-ist* to the Positive. This rule is not confined to adjectives of one or two syllables only as in lit. English, *mūəʳ*, *mūəst* (*mūist*, *mwoſt*) may also be, and often are used together with the forms in *-əʳ* and *-ist*, e. g.: *pik* — *pikəʳ* — *pikist*; *krūil* — *krūiləʳ* — *krūilist*; *bjūtiful* — *bjūtifuləʳ* — *bjūtifulist*.

Any of the above may also be compared with *mūəʳ*, *mūist*, e. g.: *mūəʳ krūil* — *mūist krūil*; or with *mūəʳ*, *mūist* and the termination *əʳ*, *-ist*, e. g.: *mūəʳ pikəʳ* — *mūist pikist* (Contamination; cp. Paul, Principien² p. 139, Horn, Anglia-Beiblatt XVI, 136).

II. 'Irregular' Comparison: *bad, il* (bad, ill) — *wus, wəʳ* — *wust*; *far, fəʳ* (far) — *fəʳdər, fḡʳdər* — *fəʳdist, fḡʳdist*; *lēt* (late) — *lēteʳ* — *lētist, lǎst*; *litl* (little) — *les (littləʳ)* — *lǎst*; *moni* (many), *mitš* (much) — *mūəʳ* — *mūəst, mūist, mwost*; *nīəʳ* (near), *nəi* (nigh) — *nīəʳəʳ, nəiəʳ, nāʳ* — *nīərist, nəi-ist, nekst*.

CHAPTER VII.

ARTICLE.

§ 107.

The definite article is *p̄*, *ḁ* or rarely *tʼ*.

1. *p̄* is commonly used before unvoiced consonants, e. g.: *p̄pārson* the parson; *iʼp̄təun* into the town; *p̄pəip* the pipe; *p̄kəu* the cow.

2. *ḁ* is commonly used before voiced consonants, e. g.: *ətop-ḁḁ-breu* at the top of the hill; *iḁḁārḁk* in the dark; *ḁḁgardnəʳ* the gardener.

3. *tʼ* is sometimes used, where *p̄* might be expected, e. g.: *oftsmel* = off the smell.

The above rules are by no means invariable. Of the three forms, *p* is much the commonest.

Note 1: The form (*t*)*p* given by Hargreaves is not found in the OD.

Note 2: In expressions denoting anger or surprise, the fuller forms *ḏa* (or *ḏi* before vowels) is used, e. g.: *ū ḏa devlɜ ḏiə?* who the devil is there? *wot ḏi el ārt dūin?* what the hell art thou doing?

The indefinite article is *ə* both before vowels and consonants e. g.: *ə ɛus* a house, *ə mon* a man.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRONOUNS.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

§ 108.

First Person.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	<i>ā, q̄ (a o, ə)</i>	<i>wi (us)</i>
Obj.	<i>mī, (mi)</i>	<i>us, uz (əz).</i>

Second Person.

Nom.	<i>ḏā, (ḏā, ḏa, tə)</i>	<i>jḡ, jo (jə)</i>
Obj.	<i>ḏi (ḏi)</i>	<i>jḡ, jo (jə).</i>

Third Person.

Masc.	}	
Nom.		<i>ī (i)</i>
Obj.		<i>im</i>
Tem.		
Nom.	}	<i>ḏe' (ḏi)</i>
Obj.		<i>ḏem, um, (əm 'm).</i>
Neut.	}	
Nom.		<i>it</i>
Obj.		<i>it</i>

Note: In the above Table the forms in brackets are unaccented.

EXAMPLES:

The Nom. Case. — First Person: *o (a) dŭn-nō, bŭt ī dŭz.* = I don't know, but he does; *gi mi sumət tēt* = give me something to eat; *ū akst mi wīər ī wēr, an a taud ər* = she asked me where he was and I told her. — *wi šannə ev (av) tə nok sə ofn* = we shall not have to knock so often; *mŭn ūs (əs) sing. pŭŭksta?* = must we sing, dost thou think? *iz taud ūs wi mŭn (mən) gū* = he's told us we must go.

Second Person: *ḍa mŭrnd* or *ḍa mŭn-nə* = thou must not; *Wīər ārt(ə) guin?* = Where art thou going (to)? [The form *-ta, -tə* is only enclitic]; *an oni on jo oni on it?* = have any of you any of it? *jo mŭn (mən) tel ūs (əs)* = you must tell us. — In the dialect the second person singular is still used for ordinary intercourse except to strangers or superiors, though in Oldham *jō* and *jo* is not always used even then.

Third Person: For the Masc. Sing. there is only one form *ī* whether in accented or unaccented position: e. g. *ī nŭs wot a mīn* = he knows what I mean; *wots ī want?* = what does he want? — In the Fem. Sing. OE. *heo* has regularly developed to *ū*, (*u*) thus *hēo* > *heō* (transposition of accent) > *hō* > (*h*)*ū*: e. g. *ūz wātšŭn ət Skots* = she is working at Scott's (mill): *ī taud ər əz ū'd aftu (aftu) gū* = he told her she would have to go. — In the Neut. Sing. there is only one form *it* e. g. *mŭn (mən) ūs giv it im* = must we give it to him? — Plurals: *ḍər nŭn seutəd* = they are not suited (= pleased), *gi(v) it əm* = give it them (thrash them)!

The Objective Case. 1. The Objective is regularly used instead of the Nominative case after the verb "to be" in all persons, sometimes even before it, e. g.: *its mī, ḍī, im, &c.* = it is I, thou, he, e. g.: *im ən mī'z palz* = he and I are partners.

2. The Objective case is often used reflexively, e. g.: *iz plēin im* = he is playing (i. e. out of work), *Kəuər ḍi dɛn wəil a pau ḍi jūr* = sit down while I cut your hair; *est(ə) dond ḍi (sen)?* = have you dressed yourself?

3. The Objective case is also used as subject when the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the verb by a subordinate sentence, e. g.: *ḍem əz ḍā mīnz wərnt (woznt) ḍīər (ḍər) nō au.* — 'Those you mean weren't there at any rate, cp. Sweet NEG. § 1085.

2. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 109.

I. Conjoint. Sing.: *māi (mī), ḍā (ḍī), iz, ər (ər).*

Plur.: *əuər, us, jōr (jər), ḍər (ḍər).*

The forms in brackets are the unaccented ones.

Note: Hargreaves has a form *wər* as unaccented form of *əuər*, but I have never come across it in the OD.

EXAMPLES: *ḍats māi at* = that's my hat; *tak (tek) ḍa traps ən bī of!* = take your things and be off! — *ī saud iz watš ən ər brūətš ən ō* = he sold

his watch and her brooch as well; *ū livz (wūnz) in ɛuər ɛus* = she lives at our house; *win bin ētin us poritš* = we have been eating our porridge; *an jo gotn jər (jor) bras, ladz?* = have got your money, lads!

II. Absolute. Sing.: *məin, dəin, iz, ərz, its*. Plur.: *ɛuərz,* jərz,* dərz*.

* Note: The older forms *euər* and *jörn* are now obsolescent.

EXAMPLES: *is dat jərz?* = is that yours; *jai, its ɛuərz* = yes, it's ours; *Nɛu, il nōn get ə peni ə məin* = No, he 'll not get a penny of mine.

3. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 110.

Sing.: 1. *misél, misén*; 2. *disél, disén*; 3. *iz-sél, iz-sén, ərsél, ərsén, itsél (is-sél), itsén (is-sén)*.

Plur.: 1. *ɛursél(z), ɛursén, us-sél(z), ʊs-sén*; 2. *jərsel(z), jərsen*; 3. *dərsélz, dərén*.

The Accent is always on the second syllable. The plural forms can be used with or without the ending *z*.

4. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 111.

Sing.: *dis* (this); *dat* (that); *jon* (you).

Plur.: *dis* (these); *dem, dūz* (those); *jon* (you); *dis, dūz* are often followed by *ɪər* = here; *dat, dem* and *dūz* by *dɪər* = there.

EXAMPLES: *dis ɪər feli'z gəmləs* = this fellow here is half-witted; *dem dɪər poritəz iznt wʊp tʊpens* = Those potatoes aren't worth twopence. *dem* is used more frequently than *dūz*.

5. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 112.

Masc. and Fem. Nom. Obj.: *uə? ū?* Gen.: *uəz? ūz?*

Neut.: *wot? witš?*

EXAMPLES: *ūz dɪər?* who is there? *ūz iz it? its nōn Bilz.* = Whose is it, it is not Bill's; *witš wɪltə ev (av)?* Which will you have?

6. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 113.

Masc. and Fem.: *əz, u(ə), wot*. Neut.: *əz, wot*.

When the antecedent is not expressed, *u (uə)* and *wot* are used, e. g.: *tak (tek) wot dəs(t) got* = take what you've got; *ɪ nɔs ū ɪ mʊn gi(v) it tu* = he knows who he must give it to.

When the antecedent is expressed, *az* and *wot* are used for all genders, e. g.: *it wər sē'm las az a sīd əfūər* = it was the same lass that I saw before; *im wot taud mi* = he that told me; *ḏəm keuz az wər saud* = those cows that were sold.

7. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

§ 114.

sum (some), *sumbri* (somebody), *sumət* (something), *ənūf*, *ənū* (enough), *tupri* (a few), *evri*, *ivri* (every), *ō* (all), *ani* (any), *anibri* (anybody), *moni* (many), *tōn* (the one of two), *aut* (anything), *naut* (nothing), *els* (else), *sits* (such), *qḏər*, *ēḏər* (either), *nqḏər* (neither), *uḏər* (other), *nō* (no), *nōn* (none, often used in sense of not).

CHAPTER IX.

NUMERALS.

§ 115.

Cardinals: *won*, *tū*, *prī*, *fqər*, *fāiv*, *siks*, *sevn*, *ait* (*ē't*), *nain*, *ten*, (*i*)*levn*, *twelv*, *pārtin* (*pārtīn*), *fqərtīn*, *fiftīn*, *undərt*, *ḏeusənt*.

Ordinals: *fust* (*fost*), *seknd*, *pār'd* (*pārd*), *fqrp*, *fift*, *sikst*, *sevnt*, *ēitḏ*, &c.

Adverbial Numerals: *wonts*, *twōis*, *prāis*, *pri taimz*, *fōər taims*.

In Composition we have *tupri* = "two or three", i. e. a few: *Ūz gotn ə tupri pəund sumwīər* = she's got a few pounds somewhere.

CHAPTER X.

VERBS.

I. FORMATION OF TENSES.

A. STRONG VERBS.

§ 116.

Strong Verbs from their Preterite by Ablaut (Gradation). Following the example of Wright and Hargreaves, I have arranged them as far as possible into classes as in Sievers' "A. S. Grammar".

Class I.

§ 117.

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>ī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
ME. <i>ī</i>	<i>ȳ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
(h) <i>aid</i> (hide)	(h) <i>ud</i>		<i>hud</i>
<i>bait</i> (bite)	<i>bōt</i>		<i>bōt, bitn.</i>
<i>draiv</i> (drive)	<i>drōv</i>		<i>drivn</i>
<i>raid</i> (ride)	<i>rōd</i>		<i>ridn</i>
<i>rait</i> (write)	<i>rōt</i>		<i>rōt, ritn</i>
<i>rāiv</i> (rive)	<i>rōv</i>		<i>rivn</i>
<i>rāiz</i> (risze)	<i>roz</i>		<i>riz</i>
<i>straid</i> (stride)	<i>strōd</i>		<i>stridn</i>
<i>straik, sprāik</i> (strike)	<i>struk, strok</i>		<i>strok, strukn</i>
<i>šit</i> (cacare)	<i>šit</i>		<i>šitn</i>
<i>prāiv</i> (thrive)	<i>prov</i>		<i>privn.</i>

Note: *aid* (OE. *hȳdan*) was weak in OE. — *dāiv* = dive which is given by Hargreaves as strong in this list is weak in OD. [Pret. *dāift*, P. P. *dāift*] as it was also in OE. — *rāiv* [ME. *riven*] is of Scand. origin and also *prāiv* [ME. *prīven*], cp. Björkman, p. 224.

Class II.

§ 118.

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>eo</i>	<i>ēa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
ME. <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ō</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
<i>flāw, flāi</i> (fly)	<i>flū</i>	<i>flaun</i>
<i>frīz</i> (freeze)	<i>frōz</i>	<i>frozn</i>
<i>krīp</i> (creep)	<i>krōp</i>	<i>kropn, krōp</i>
<i>šut</i> (shoot)	<i>šot</i>	<i>šot</i>
<i>tšūz</i> (choose)	<i>tšōz</i>	<i>tšozn.</i>

Class III.

§ 119.

This Class had three divisions in OE.: 1. Verbs having a Nasal + Cons., 2. *l* + Cons., 3. *r, h* + Cons. All the verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. In subdivision 3. the only strong forms remaining are *fait* (fight), *brast* (burst).

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>i</i>	<i>a, o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
ME. <i>i</i>	<i>ā, ō</i>	<i>u, o</i>	<i>u, o, ou.</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
a)		
<i>bigin</i> (begin)	<i>bigun</i>	<i>bigun</i>
<i>bəind</i> (bind)	<i>bun(d)</i>	<i>bun(d)</i>
<i>bring</i> (bring)	<i>braut</i>	<i>braut</i>
<i>fəind</i> (find)	<i>fun(d), fon</i>	<i>fun(d), fon</i>
<i>grəind</i> (grind)	<i>grun</i>	<i>grun</i>
<i>run</i> (run)	<i>run</i>	<i>run</i>
<i>spin</i> (spin)	<i>spun</i>	<i>spun</i>
<i>swim</i> (swim)	<i>swum</i>	<i>swum</i>
<i>win</i> (win)	<i>wun, wan</i>	<i>wun</i>
b)		
<i>dringk, dđringk</i> (drink)	<i>drun̄k (dran̄k)</i>	<i>drun̄k(n)</i>
<i>ring</i> (ring)	<i>run̄g (ran̄g)</i>	<i>run̄g</i>
<i>sing</i> (sink)	<i>sun̄g</i>	<i>sun̄g</i>
<i>sin̄k</i> (sink)	<i>sun̄k</i>	<i>sun̄k(n)</i>
<i>slin̄k</i> (slink)	<i>slun̄k</i>	<i>slun̄k</i>
<i>spring</i> (spring)	<i>sprun̄g</i>	<i>sprun̄g</i>
<i>stin̄g</i> (sting)	<i>stun̄g</i>	<i>stun̄g</i>
<i>stin̄k</i> (stink)	<i>stun̄k, stan̄k</i>	<i>stun̄k</i>
<i>swing</i> (swing)	<i>swun̄g</i>	<i>swun̄g</i>
<i>tlin̄g</i> (cling)	<i>tlun̄g</i>	<i>tlun̄g</i>
<i>šrin̄k</i> (shrink)	<i>šrun̄k (šran̄k)</i>	<i>šrun̄k.</i>
<i>fəit</i> (fight)	<i>faut</i>	<i>faut, fautn</i>
<i>brast</i> (burst)	<i>brastid</i>	<i>(brastid) brosn.</i>

Class IV.

§ 120.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing..	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE.	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>o</i>
ME.	<i>ē, e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>

	Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
	<i>brēⁱk</i> (break)	<i>brōk</i>	<i>broken</i>
	<i>štēⁱl</i> (steal)	<i>stūl</i> *	<i>staun</i> *
	<i>tē^r</i> (tear)	<i>tōr, tōrt</i> *	<i>tō^rn</i>
	<i>wēā^r</i> (wear) *	<i>wōr</i>	<i>wōr, wō^rn.</i>

* Note: *wēār* (OE. *werian*) was originally weak. — Peculiar is the form *stūl* which is not found in the Adlington Dialect. — *tort* is a weak-strong form.

<i>kūm</i> (come)	<i>kūm</i>	<i>komn, kum̄n.</i>
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komn (*kum̄n*) has preserved its ME. ending in the OD. which it has lost in the neighbouring dialects.

Class V.

§ 121.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE.	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>e</i>
ME.	<i>ē, ê</i>	<i>α</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē.</i>
	Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.	
1.				
	<i>nēⁱd</i> (need)	<i>nēⁱdid, nēⁱdəd</i>	<i>nēⁱdəd</i>	
	<i>spēⁱk</i> (speak)	<i>spōk</i>	<i>spokn</i>	
	<i>trēⁱd</i> (tread)	<i>trōd</i>	<i>trodn</i>	
	<i>wēⁱv</i> (weave)	<i>wēⁱvd, wēⁱft</i>	<i>wovn</i>	
	<i>ēⁱt</i> (eat)	<i>īt</i>	<i>et(ə)n.</i>	
2.				
	<i>get</i> (get)	<i>gīt</i>	<i>getn</i>	
	<i>gi, giv</i> (give)	<i>gan</i>	<i>gan</i>	
	<i>sī</i> (see)	<i>sīd</i>	<i>sīn (sin)</i>	
	<i>sit</i> (sit)	<i>sīt</i>	<i>sit*</i>	
	<i>stik</i> (stick)*	<i>stuk</i>	<i>stukn</i>	
	<i>dig</i> (dig)*	<i>duḡ</i>	<i>duḡ(n).</i>	

* Note: These two verbs were weak in OE. — The form *sīt* for *sit* P. P. is obsolete in the OD.

Class VI.

§ 122.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE.	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>
ME.	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a.</i>
	Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.	
	<i>drēⁱ, drō</i> (draw)	<i>drū</i>	<i>drōn</i>	
	<i>stōnd</i> (stand)	<i>stud</i>	<i>stud(n)</i>	
	<i>tek, tak</i> (take)	<i>tūk</i>	<i>takn, tēn</i>	
	<i>swā^r</i> (swear)	<i>swōā^r</i>	<i>swōā^rn.</i>	

Class VII (Reduplicating Verbs).

§ 123.

<i>uṅg</i> (hang)	<i>uṅg</i>	<i>uṅg</i>
<i>let</i> (let)	<i>let, līt</i>	<i>letn</i>
<i>fō</i> (fall)	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōn (fōd)</i>
<i>bjet</i> (beat)	<i>bīt</i>	<i>bjetn</i>
<i>grū</i> (grow)	<i>grū</i>	<i>grūn</i>
<i>blō</i> (blow)	<i>blū, blōd</i>	<i>blōn</i>
<i>mō</i> (mow)	<i>mōd</i>	<i>mōn</i>
<i>nō</i> (know)	<i>njū. nōd</i>	<i>nōn, nōd.</i>

B. WEAK VERBS.

I. Preterite and Past Participle in *æd* (*id*).

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>fret</i> (fret)	<i>fretæd</i> (<i>fretid</i>)	<i>fretæd</i>
<i>lit</i> (light)	<i>lītid</i> (<i>let</i>)	<i>lītid</i> (<i>let</i>)
<i>melt</i> (melt)	<i>meltæd</i>	<i>meltæd</i>
<i>sūt</i> (suit)	<i>sūtæd</i> (<i>sūtīd</i>)	<i>sūtæd</i> (<i>sūtīd</i>)
<i>trēt</i> (treat)	<i>trētæd</i> (<i>trētīd</i>)	<i>trētæd</i> (<i>trētīd</i>)
<i>wīt</i> (wet)	<i>wītæd</i>	<i>wītæd</i>
<i>aūd</i> (hold)	<i>aūded</i>	<i>aūdæd</i> .

II. Preterite and Past Participle in *d*.

a) Verbs in which the vowel remains unchanged:

<i>brū</i> (brew)	<i>brud</i>	<i>brūd</i>
<i>īar</i> (hear)	<i>īard</i>	<i>īard</i>
<i>lē, lī</i> (lay)	<i>lēd</i>	<i>lēd</i>
<i>mak</i> (make)	<i>mēd</i>	<i>mēd</i>
<i>rū</i> (rue)	<i>rūd</i>	<i>rūd</i>
<i>sē, se</i> (say)	<i>sed</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>sō</i> (sow, sew)	<i>sōd</i>	<i>sōn</i>
<i>šō</i> (shew)	<i>šōd</i>	<i>šōn</i>
<i>šū</i> (shoe)	<i>šūd</i>	<i>šud</i>
<i>tšū</i> (chew)	<i>tšūd</i>	<i>tsūd</i> .

b) Verbs which change the vowel and add *d* to the stem:

<i>sel</i> (sell)	<i>saud</i>	<i>saud</i>
<i>tel</i> (tell)	<i>taud</i>	<i>taud</i>
<i>tīm</i> (teem, pour out)	<i>temd</i>	<i>temd</i> .

c) Verbs which change the vowel and have *d* in the stem:

<i>blīd</i> (bleed)	<i>bled</i>	<i>bled</i>
<i>brīd</i> (breed)	<i>bred</i>	<i>bred</i>
<i>fīd</i> (feed)	<i>fed</i>	<i>fed</i> .

III. Preterite and Past Participle in *-t*.

a) Verbs with unchanged vowel and original *t*, *d* in the stem:

1.

<i>it</i> (hit)	<i>it</i>	<i>it</i>
<i>kost</i> (cost)	<i>kost</i>	<i>kost</i>
<i>kut</i> (cut)	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>
<i>nīt</i> (knit)	<i>nīt</i>	<i>nīt</i>
<i>oʳt, æʳt</i> (hurt)	<i>oʳt, æʳt</i>	<i>ort, æʳt</i>
<i>put, pæt</i> (put)	<i>put, pæt</i>	<i>put, pæt</i>
<i>swīæt</i> (sweat)	<i>swet</i>	<i>swet</i> .

Note: *swīæt* seems to be an importation from Yorkshire, cp. Wright § 381.

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
2.		
<i>bend</i> (bend)	<i>bent</i>	<i>bent</i>
<i>bild</i> (build)	<i>bilt</i>	<i>bilt</i>
<i>send</i> (send)	<i>sent</i>	<i>sent</i>
<i>skrat</i> (scratch)	<i>skrat</i>	<i>skrat</i>
<i>spend</i> (spend)	<i>spent</i>	<i>spent.</i>

3.		
<i>wed</i> (wed)	<i>wed</i>	<i>wed.</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel which add *t* to the stem:

1.		
<i>elp</i> (help)	<i>elpt</i>	<i>elpt</i>
<i>katš</i> (catch)	<i>katš</i>	<i>katšt</i>
<i>kis</i> (kiss)	<i>kist</i>	<i>kist</i>
<i>rētš</i> (reach)	<i>rētšt</i>	<i>rētšt</i>
<i>sītš</i> (seek)	<i>sītšt</i>	<i>sītšt</i>
<i>šēk</i> (shake)	<i>šēkt</i>	<i>šēkt</i>
<i>šēp</i> — <i>šap</i> (shape)	<i>šapt</i>	<i>šapt</i>
<i>šēv</i> (shave)	<i>šēft</i>	<i>šēft</i>
<i>wēiš</i> (wash)	<i>wēiši</i>	<i>wēišt</i>
<i>wōrtš</i> (work)	<i>wōrtšt</i>	<i>wōrtšt.</i>

2.		
<i>brun</i> (burn)	<i>brunt</i>	<i>brunt</i>
<i>lan(d)</i> (lend)	<i>lant</i>	<i>lant</i>
<i>lān</i> (lean)	<i>lēnt</i>	<i>lēnt</i>
<i>smel</i> (smell)	<i>smelt</i>	<i>smelt</i>
<i>spel</i> (spell)	<i>spelt</i>	<i>spelt</i>
<i>spil</i> (spill)	<i>spilt</i>	<i>spilt</i>
<i>spail</i> (spoil)	<i>spailt</i>	<i>spailt</i>
<i>šain</i> (shine)	<i>šaint</i>	<i>šaint</i>
<i>wakn</i> (waken)	<i>waknt</i>	<i>waknt.</i>

c) Verbs with Vowel Change and original *t* in stem:

<i>mīt</i> (meet)	<i>met</i>	<i>met.</i>
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d) Verbs with Vowel Change which add *t* to the stem:

<i>bai</i> (buy)	<i>baut</i>	<i>baut</i>
<i>bring</i> (bring)	<i>braut</i>	<i>braut</i>
<i>drīam, dīrīam</i> (dream)	<i>dremt, dremt</i>	<i>dremt, dremt</i>
<i>fīl</i> (feel)	<i>felt</i>	<i>felt</i>
<i>kīp</i> (keep)	<i>kept</i>	<i>kept</i>
<i>līav</i> (leave)	<i>laft</i>	<i>laft</i>
<i>lūz, lōz</i> (lose)	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>
<i>mīan</i> (mean)	<i>ment</i>	<i>ment</i>
<i>nīl</i> (kneel)	<i>nelt</i>	<i>nelt</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
<i>pīp</i> (peep)	<i>pept</i>	<i>pept</i>
<i>slīp</i> (sleep)	<i>slept</i>	<i>slept</i>
<i>swīp</i> (sweep)	<i>swept</i>	<i>swept</i>
<i>tē'ts</i> (teach)	<i>tē'tst</i> (<i>taut</i>)	<i>tē'tšt</i> (<i>taut</i>)
<i>þīnk</i> (think)	<i>þaut</i>	<i>þaut.</i>

II. VERBAL ENDINGS.

§ 124.

Present. The first person singular has no ending, the second and third person singular ends in *s* (after voiced sounds *z*) and *is* or *iz* after the spirants *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*. The plural mostly ends in *ən* throughout, but the first and third person are sometimes the same as the third person singular, while the second person has no ending.

Present Sing.	1. <i>elp</i> (<i>help</i>)	<i>wə'tš</i> (<i>work</i>)
	2. <i>elps</i>	<i>wə'tšəz</i>
	3. <i>elps</i>	<i>wə'tšəz</i>
Plur.	1. <i>elpən</i> (<i>elps</i>)	<i>wə'tšən</i> (<i>wə'tšəz</i>)
	2. <i>elpən</i> (<i>elp</i>)	<i>wə'tšən</i> (<i>wə'tš</i>)
	3. <i>elpən</i> (<i>elps</i>)	<i>wə'tšən</i> (<i>wə'tšəz</i>)
Præterite	<i>elpt</i>	<i>wə'tšt</i>
Imperative	<i>elp</i>	<i>wə'tš</i>
Infinitive	<i>elp</i>	<i>wə'tš</i>
Present Participle	<i>elpin</i> *	<i>wə'tšin</i> *
Past Participle	<i>elpt</i>	<i>wə'tšt.</i>

* For *-in* < *ing* in the Pres. Participle, cp. § 62, IIb.

The Subjunctive Mood has disappeared except in certain phrases, e. g. "*if a (o) wər dī*" = "if I were you". The future, the perfect tenses and the passive voices are formed as in literary English.

Table of Tenses.

Tense	Indefinite	Imperfect and Continuous	Perfect	Perfect and Continuous
Present	$\left. \begin{matrix} a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} wərtš$ = I work	$\left. \begin{matrix} am \\ om \end{matrix} \right\} wərtšin$ = I am working	$\left. \begin{matrix} av \\ ov \end{matrix} \right\} wərtšt$ = I have worked	$\left. \begin{matrix} av \\ ov \end{matrix} \right\} bin wərtšin$ = I have been working
Preterite	$\left. \begin{matrix} a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} wərtšt$ = I worked	$\left. \begin{matrix} a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} wər wərtšin$ $\bar{q}ər wərtšin$ = I was working	$ad wərtšt$ = I had worked	$ad bin wərtšin$ = I had working
Future	$\left. \begin{matrix} as \\ os \end{matrix} \right\} wərtš$ = I shall work	$\left. \begin{matrix} as \\ os \end{matrix} \right\} bi(n)$ $wərtšin$ = I shall be working	$\left. \begin{matrix} as e \\ os ə \end{matrix} \right\} wərtšt$ $os(t) ə wərtšt$ = I shall have worked	$\left. \begin{matrix} as e \\ os ə \end{matrix} \right\} bin wərtšin$ $os(t) ə bin$ $wərtšin$ = I shall have been working

Notes: In the OD. a *t* is inserted in the Future Perfect and the Fut. Perf. and Continuous Tenses. This does not appear to be the case in neighbouring dialects. —

The ending of the 3rd pers. Sing is used with plural nouns, especially in a relative clause, e. g.: *ðem əz laiks kon av mūdər* = those who like can have more. — *ðin q̄ getn wed* = they are all getting wed (married); *a kud laik tə sī wot s̄q̄ərtə stuf ðə driŋkən* = I should like to see what sort of stuff they drink? After the personal pronouns the ending *-ən* is always used: *ðə plēin fut-bō ivri deⁱ* = they play football every day.

The literary English form without ending for the 3rd pers. pl. is also found thus: *ðe wərtš at Plats* = they work at Platts (a large Oldham iron-works).

ANOMALOUS VERBS.

1. Can.

Pres. Strong form *kon*, weak form *kn*.

Pret. Strong form *kud*, weak form *kəd*.

Affirmatively.

Present.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>a, o, kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . | Plur. <i>wi kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . |
| 2. <i>ða kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . | <i>jə, jə kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . |
| 3. <i>ī, ū, it kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . | <i>ðe, ði kon</i> or <i>kn</i> . |

Preterite.

Pret. *kud* or *kəd*
&c.

kud or *kəd*
&c.

Negatively.

Pres. *a, o konət* or (*kṛnd*)* Pret. *a, o kudnd(t)*.

Note: In Oldham proper the forms are *konət* and *kudnt*, in Hollinwood, a southern suburb, *konər* and *kudnər*. The form *kṛnd* is rare.

Interrogatively.

Present.

Sing. 1. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>a?</i>	Plur. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>ḍa, tə?*</i>	<i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i>) <i>ḍē, ḍi, ḍe?</i>

* Note: The enclitic form *tə* is the one preferred in Oldham.

Interrogative-Negatively.

1. <i>konət a, o?</i>	<i>konət wi?</i>
2. <i>kontno?*</i>	<i>konət jo, je?</i>
3. <i>kont* ī ū, it?</i>	<i>konət ḍē, ḍi, ḍə?</i>

* Note: The contracted forms in the 2nd and 3rd pers. Sing.

kud is sometimes used in the Infinitive e. g.: *a jūs tə kud* = "I used to be able (to do it)".

2. Dare.

Pres.

a dər = I dare
a dərnt, dərnə = I dare not
dəra? = dare I
dərnt, dərsnt a? = dare I not.

Pret.

a dər = I dared
a dərsnt = I dare not
dəra? = dared I
dərsnt a? did I not dare?

The preterite and past participle *dərd* = challenged, e. g.: *ī dərđ im tə kum ət ən fəit* = he challenged him to come out and fight.

3. Shall.

Present-Affirmatively.

Sing.

Plur.

1. <i>a, o, šal</i> (form <i>as, os</i>)	<i>wi šal</i> (weak form <i>wis</i> [<i>t</i> before vowel])*
2. <i>ḍa, ḍə šal</i> (<i>ḍas</i>)	<i>jə šul</i> or <i>šan</i> (<i>jəs</i>)
3. <i>ī, ū, šal, šul</i> (<i>īs, us</i>)	<i>ḍi, ḍe šal, šul, šan</i> (<i>ḍis</i>).

* Note: In the first pers. plural of the affirmative form the strong form seldom occurs.

Negatively.

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a, o šanə, &c.</i>	<i>wi šanə, &c.</i>

Interrogatively.

1. <i>šal a, o?</i>	<i>šal or šan wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>saltə?</i>	<i>šal or šan jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>šal ī, ū?</i>	<i>šal or šan dē, dī, dē?</i>

In the plural the form *šan* is preferred.

Interrogative-Negatively.

<i>šanət a, o? &c.</i>	<i>šanə(t) wi, us, əs? &c.</i>
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Preterite. Affirmatively.

<i>a, o šud, šəl</i>	<i>wi šud, šəd</i>
<i>da šud, šəd</i>	<i>jo, jə šud, šəd</i>
<i>ī, ū, it šud, šəd</i>	<i>də, dī šud, šəd.</i>

Negatively.

<i>a, o šudnt, šədnt &c.</i>	<i>wi šudnt, šədnt &c.</i>
----------------------------------	--------------------------------

Interrogatively.

<i>šud, šəd a, o? &c.</i>	<i>šud, šəd wi, us, əs? &c.</i>
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Negative-Interrogatively.

<i>šudnt, šədnt a? &c.</i>	<i>šudnt, šədnt wi? &c.</i>
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The weak forms are generally used only with pronouns.

4. May.

Present.

<i>a me (mi) &c.</i>	<i>wi me (mi) &c.</i>
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Preterite.

<i>a met &c.</i>	<i>wi met &c.</i>
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Note: The use of *kon* for *me* in the present, found in the neighbouring dialect, does not extend to Oldham (cp. Hargreaves, § 116).

For the Interrogative *mon*, *myn*, *mən* is used for the Present tense, e. g.:

Sing.	Plur.
<i>mon a? &c.</i>	<i>mon (mun, mən) wi, us, əs &c.</i>

e. g.: *mən əs sing, pin̩ksta?* = may (or shall) we sing, do you think?

Preterite.

<i>met a? &c.</i>	<i>met wi &c.</i>
-----------------------	-----------------------

Negatively.

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a mənə</i> (I may, must not)	<i>wi mənə</i>
<i>mənət a?</i>	<i>mənə(t) wi?</i>

Note: The Adlington form *mutnt* is not found in the OD., cp. Hargreaves § 116.

5. Must.

To express the lit. Engl. *must*, the Scandinavian *mun*, *mann* is used: strong form *mon*, weak form *mūn*, *mən* the forms of the first person singular and plural are as follows:

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a, o mon</i> (<i>mūn</i> , <i>mən</i>)	<i>wi mon</i>
<i>a, o mənə</i> (I must not)	<i>wi mənə</i>
<i>mon, mən a?</i> (must I?)	<i>mən əs?</i>
<i>mənət a, o?</i> (must I not?)	<i>mənət əs?</i>

Note: The Adlington form *mō'nd* is rare in the OD. Also the weak form *mən* is regularly used negatively.

For the Preterite the same forms are used as above, but the form *met* is also used occasionally in the same sense.

6. ought.

aut is uninflected for all persons; observe: *a autnt* or *didnt aut* = I ought not; *autnt a* or *didnt a aut?* = ought I not?

7. Have.

Pres. Strong Form *av*, *a*, *an*; weak *əv*, *ə*, *ən*.

Pret. Strong Form *ad*; weak *əd*.

Before consonants the form *a* or *ə* are always used, tho' *ə* is commoner, e. g.: *as a (ə) dūn inau* = I shall have done presently; but *il av it əfūə' əts lūng* = he will have it before (its) long. —

In both Pres. and Pret. the vowels disappear in the weak forms when preceded by the nominative of the personal pronouns, e. g.: *q̄v* = I have. *win* = we have; *ad sīn im* = I had seen him. Sometimes the verb disappears altogether, e. g.: *ḏe mad əm* = they have made them; *wi lost it* = we have lost it. This is the case before vowels mostly cp. *win etn it* = we have eaten it. The *z* of the second and third person singular becomes *s* before voiceless consonants: e. g.: *astə?* = hast thou!

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>a av; qv</i>	<i>wi av; win (wiv)</i>
2. <i>da az; daz daz</i>	<i>jo av, an; jēn, jən</i>
3. <i>ī, ū, it az; īz, ūz, its</i>	<i>de, di, da av, an; din.</i>

Preterite.

1. <i>a ad; ād, qd, əd</i>	<i>wi ad; wīd</i>
2. <i>da ad; dād, dad</i>	<i>&c.</i>

Infinitive *av, a, ə*.

Present Participle *avin*.

Past. Participle *ad, əd*.

Negatively.

Present.

1. <i>a anə</i>	<i>wi anə</i>
2. <i>da, da aznə</i>	<i>jo, jə anə</i>
3. <i>ī, ū, it aznə</i>	<i>de anə.</i>

Preterite.

<i>a adnə</i>	<i>wi adnə.</i>
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Note: The Adlington forms differ considerably from the above, cp. Hargreaves § 119.

Interrogatively.

Present.

1. <i>av a?</i>	<i>an wi? (av wi?)</i>
2. <i>(az da?) astə?</i>	<i>an, av jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>az ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>an, av de, di, de?</i>

The *an* form is much commoner in the OD.

Preterite.

<i>ad a? &c.</i>	<i>ad wi? &c.</i>
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Interrogative-Negatively.

1. <i>anət a?</i>	<i>anə(t) wi? anət wi?</i>
2. <i>astnə?</i>	<i>anə(t) jo? jə?</i>
3. <i>aznt ī, or aznə ī, ū &c.</i>	<i>anət di?</i>

Preterite.

<i>adnt a? &c.</i>	<i>adnt wi? &c.</i>
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The Plural forms of the Present given above are only used with the personal pronouns. In all other cases the forms of the second and third person singular are used thus: *az, əz (s)*, e. g.: *az dem wentšəz gūn wom?* = have those

girls gone home? *dem đēr lădz əz bin fēitin* = those lads have been fighting. The same forms are also used with the first pers. sing when combined with a relative, e. g.: *its mī əz əz fon it* = It was I who found it.

8. Be.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing.

1. *ā am; q̄m; am*

2. *đā ā^r; đəu, đā a^rt; đə^rt*

3. *ī, ū, it iz; īz, ūz, its*

Plur.

wi ā^r, wā^r, wə^r

jō, jē a^r; jā^r, jē^r

đē, đī, đē a^r; đā^r, đə^r.

Preterite.

1. *a wā^r, wə^r*

2. *đā wə^r(t)*

3. *ī wā^r, wə^r.*

wī, wī wā^r, wə^r = we were

&c.

Infinitive *bī, bi.*

Pres. Part. [*bī'in*].

Past. Part. *bin.*

Negatively.

Present.

1. *am, om not, nət or nōn*

2. *đə^rt not, nət or nōn*

3. *īz, ūz, its not, nət or nōn*

wī^r, wə^r not, nət, nōn

jō^r, jə^r not, nət, nōn

đā^r, đə^r not, nət, nōn.

Preterite.

a, o wā^rnt, wə^rnt &c.

wī, wā^rnt &c.

Interrogatively.

Present.

1. *am a, o?*

2. *a^rtə? (a^rt đā?)*

3. *iz, i, ū, it?*

ā^r wi or us?

ā^r jō or jə?

ā^r đē, đī, đē?

Preterite.

wā^r, wə^r a?

wā^rtə? (wə^rt đā?) &c.

wā^r, wə^r wi, us? &c.

Interrogative-Negatively.

Present.

1. *amti? amta?*

2. *a^rtnə?*

3. *iznə^(r) } ī, ū, it?*
iznt }

a^rnə(t) wi?

a^rnt jə (jō)?

a^rnə(t) đī?

Note: The forms in brackets are the less common. A comparison of these forms with those of Adlington and Windhill show the intermediate stage occupied by the OD. very well.

Preterite.

Sing.

wǎ'nt a, o? &c.

Plur.

wǎ'nt wi, us?

The above forms of the present are used only in combination with the pronouns, in other cases the 3rd sing is used, e. g.: *ðem ɛuziz iznt let jet* = those houses are not let yet; *ðə'z sʊm ɒn əm əz duznt nō nō ðifrənt* = there are some of them who do not know any better; *ðə'z sʊm feliz əz kn nəvə' ət inūf* = there are some fellows who can never eat enough.

The Vowel disappears, or is assimilated to the foregoing vowel of the subject in the weak forms of the present, e. g.: *ðə' at it əgen* = they are at it again — *am (om) nōn redi jet.* = I am not ready yet. —

9. Will.

Present: strong form *wil*, weak *əl*, which loses its vowel in combination with pronouns.

Preterite: strong form *wud*, weak form *əd* which also loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, e. g.: *ad (od) lan(d) ði ə tu'pri šilin but a konət dū (djū) beut it neʊ* = I would lend you a shilling or two, but I cannot do without it now.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing.

1. *a, o wil; əl, ɔl, ol*
2. *ða wil; ðaul, ðeul*
3. *ī, ū, it wil; īl, ūl, itl*

Plur.

- wi wil; wīl, wil, win*
- jə, jə wil; jol, jəl, jon*
- ðē, ði, ðe wil; ðēl, ðil, ðel.*

Note: Of the above plural forms *win, jon, ðil* are the most used.

Preterite.

a, o wud, wəd; ɔd, ad, əd &c. wi wud, wəd; wīd, wid &c.

Negatively.

Present.

1. *a winə, əl nōn wi winə, wil nōn &c.*
2. *ða, ðə winə, ðəl, ðəl nōn &c.*

Preterite.

a, o wudnt &c. wi wudnt &c.

Interrogatively.

Present.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>wil a, o?</i>	<i>win wi?</i>
2. <i>wilta, wiltə?</i>	<i>win jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>wil ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>win đī?</i>

Preterite.

1. <i>wud a, o?</i>	<i>wud wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>wud đa, tə? &c.</i>	<i>wud jo, jə &c.</i>

Interrogative-Negatively.

Present.

1. <i>winət, wint a?</i>	<i>winət, wint wi?</i>
2. <i>wiltna?</i>	<i>winə jə?</i>
3. <i>wint ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>winə đī?</i>

Note: The shortened form *wint* is preferred for the 1st and 3rd pers. sing., the form *winət* for the 1st pers. plur., and the form *winə* for the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur.

Preterite.

1. <i>wudnt a? wədnt a?</i>	<i>wudnt wi?</i>
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For the 1st pers Sing. and Plur. in all the interrogative forms, the verb *shall* (q. v.) is sometimes used.

10. Do.

do as an independent verb is conjugated like any other verb. In the Preterite *did* is used for all persons Sing. and Plur.

Affirmatively.

Present.

1. <i>a dũ?</i>	<i>wi</i>	} <i>dũ, dun.</i>
2. <i>đa duz</i>	<i>jo, jə</i>	
3. <i>ī, ū, it du(z)</i>	<i>đē, đī</i>	

Negatively.

1. <i>a dŕnt, dərnt</i>	<i>wi</i>	} <i>dŕnt, dərnt.</i>
2. <i>đa duzent</i>	<i>jo, jə</i>	
3. <i>ī, ū, it duzent</i>	<i>đē, đī</i>	

Interrogatively.

Sing.		Plur.
1. <i>dū a, o?</i>		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} wi? \\ jo, jə? \\ dē, dī? \end{array} \right.$
2. <i>duz dā? dust(ə)?</i>	<i>dun, dən</i>	
3. <i>duz ī, ū, it?</i>		

Interrogative-Negatively.

dunət a? dō'nt a? dunət wi &c.
duznt dā? dunət na?
duznt, dunət ī, ū, it?

Pres. Part.: *duin.*

Past. Part.: *dun, dən.*

In the form *dustə* = dost thou? the *ə* is sometimes dropped before consonants thus *dust nō?* = dost thou know?

Note: The Verb *do* is not used so frequently to ask questions as in literary English, e. g.: *šud a siŋg, piŋksta?* = should I sing, dost thou think?

A p p e n d i x.

ADVERBS.

§ 125.

Adverbs of Manner and Degree mostly end in *-li*, e. g.: *ārdli* = hardly, *qkār'tli* = awkwardly. In *suār'lī* the stress is on the suffix.

apn = perhaps; *eu* = how; *eu-iver* = however; *ən q̄ (ō)* = and all, too, as well.

Notes: 1. On the use of *eu*: *a dūnō ez eu 'it matə'z* = I don't think it is of much consequence.

In interrogative sentences "how" is often replaced by *witš rōd?* thus *witš rōd (rōd) mən əs biŋin?* = how must we begin?

2. On the use of *ən q̄ (ō)*: *ī wil dāt ən q̄* = "he will that, and no mistake" (strengthening sense).

qləz, q̄ləz = always; *tū* = too, also; *sq̄ (sō)* = so, but *ū wə' dāt mad* = she was so angry.

veri = very, often replaced by *sūm* thus: *ī wə' sūm mad, ī wə' =* he was very angry (that) he was; *veri nīə'* almost, *wai?* = why? *wīl* = well (Interjection *wəl!*)

"Also" is expressed, as seen above, by *tu* and *ən q̄*. "Thus" by *dis rōd*, or *dāt rōd* = "this road" or "that road".

Adverbs of Place: *oniwīār* = anywhere; *īār* = here; *jon* = yonder; *sumwīār* = somewhere; *đīār* (*đār*) = there; *wīār* (*ūār*) = where?

Adverbs of Time: *evār*, *ivār* = ever; *jet* = yet; *justārđēi* (*juspārđēi*) = yesterday; *nēu* = now; *nivār* = never; *oft* = often; *sin* = since; *sūn* = soon; *tādēi* = to-day; *tāmq̄rn* (*t'mōrn*) = to-morrow; *tānīt* (*t'nīt*) = to-night; *den* = then; *inau* = presently; *wen* = when.

Affirmative and Negative Particles: *ai*, *jai*, *ā* = yes; *nāu*, *nēu* (stressed) *nō* (unstr.) = no; *nōn*, *not* = not (also *nāt*, *nt* when unstressed).

PREPOSITIONS.

§ 126.

aftār (*afđār*) = after; *afōār*, *afūār* = before; *bi* = by; *bi-int*, *bihānt* = behind; *dēun* = down; *a*, *av* (only before vowels) = of; *abēut* = about; *bēut* = without; *abūn* = above; *āgen* = again; *agin* = against; *alun̄g* = along; *amun̄g* = among; *bisaid* = besides; *astid a* = instead of; *fār* = for; *frā* = from; *in*, *i* = in (*i* is more used, even before vowels); *intā* = into; *nīār*, *nai* = near; *but obāt* = except [*obār* in Hollinwood, see map]; *nobāt*, *nobār* (Holl.) = only; *on*, *o* = on; *oār* = over; *sin* = since; *tā*, *til* = to, as far as (e. g. *wi went veri nīār til Audām* = we went almost as far as Oldham); *prū* (*praf*, *pruf*) = through; *undār*, *undār* = under; *up*, *op* = up; *wi* = with.

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 127.

but = but; *bikos*, *kos* = because (sometimes *koz*); *an* = and; *az* = that (*dat* is never used as a conjunction); *if*, *iv* = if; *nođār* (*nq̄đār*) = neither; *q̄đār*, *ōđār*, *ēđār* = either; *nār* = than, always used in comparisons¹ cp. *īz bigār nār mī* = he is bigger than I; *wail* = until cp. *wi mən wīt (wet) wail ī kumz* = we must wait until he comes.

¹ For explanation cp. Horn, Archiv CXIV, 360.

*SPECIMENS.*¹

I.

Sam o Dukiz Kūa'tšip (Brierley).

Sam. đeu-ərt swilin đī kōt ɛut aud krētəʀ.

Mary. iz đat jo, Sam.?

S. ə bit əpəud tərmit. Eɥ artə, aud wentš?

M. Om əz rūt əz f̄qəʀ penəp ə kopəʀ. Eɥ əʀ jo, Sam?

S. Wel, đā sīz, mi tšins getin nār mi gārtəʀz nər it jūstəʀbi, on e f̄il ə bit šē'ki opə mi props; bət om sɛund əbɛut'p hārnel ən kwəit lediš əbɛut'pjəd. đā lūks praim aud damzel. Eɥ əʀp tšildəʀ?

M. ē, đin q̄ getin wed obət ɛuəʀ Sērə, ən ūl nō bi lɔŋ fəʀ ūz kūərtin veri drī.

S. əi, əi, wot sūəʀt ə səns ən dautəʀz in lq̄ ast getn? āʀ đe ov ə farəntli mak?

M. Midlin. Tū ev ɛuəʀ wentšəz əʀ wed tə koljəʀz getin gud wē'džiz, bət đe kn ē't weli q̄ de getn, ən ɛuəʀ Džō əz wed ə manti-mākəʀ, bət ū əznə mitš wārk bikoʀ wentšiz əbɛut iəʀ ən bigən dū.in đəʀ ɔn sō.m.

S. q̄, đəʀt getin kwəit əmɔŋgɔ kwaliti, a jēr, đɛul bi lə'nin tə tq̄k fəin nekst ən getin ə tinklin boks ipɛus, đq̄ ə pɪŋk đəi fɪŋgəʀz əʀ rē'dəʀ tə wārk prɛud fəʀ tə dū mitš miūsik ə đat sūəʀt. Kē'dəʀ mjūsik əz bin mūəʀ i đəi rq̄d. Wot sūəʀt əv ə tšap əz jəʀ Sērə getn?

M. q̄, iz ə kwaliti grē'dli, ɛuəʀ Sērə'z feli iz, ī wəʀz ə watš ən gəz intə Bār Pārləʀz.

S. əi, duʒ ī wəʀ əwatš? A dunə laik đat. O nivəʀ niū ə mon jet ət wq̄əʀ ə watš bət ī went tū fāst, ī wəʀ sūəʀ tə galop wen ī

¹ The translations are as nearly literal as possible.

SPECIMENS.

I.

Sam of Ducky's Courtship (Brierley).

- S. You are swilling your (pig) sty out, old creature.
- M. Is that you, Sam?
- S. A bit of the old turnip. How are you, old wench?
- M. As right as four penny-worth of copper. How are you, Sam?
- S. Well, you see, my chin is getting nearer my garters than it used to be, and I feel a bit shaky upon my props (legs) but I'm sound about the kernel and quite laddish (juvenile) about the head. You look prime, old damsel. How are the children?
- M. Eh, they have all got wed (married) but our Sarah, and she will not be long, for she is courting very busily.
- S. Yes, yes. What sort of sons and daughters-in-law have you got? Are they of a good make? (= are they respectable).
- M. Middling. Two of our wenches are wed to colliers, getting good wages, but they can eat nearly all they get (earn) and our Joe has wed a mantle-maker, but she has not much work because the wenches about here have begun doing their own sewing.
- S. Oh, you are getting among the quality (fine folk) I hear, you will be learning to talk fine (speak lit. Engl.) next and (be) getting a tinkling-box (piano) into the house. Though I think your fingers are rather too work-proud for to do much music of that sort. Cradle-music has been more in your road (line). What sort of a chap has your Sarah got?
- M. Oh, he's a quality indeed (a grand person) is our Sarah's sweetheart, he wears a watch and goes into Bar Parlours.
- S. Oh, does he wear a watch? I don't like that. I never knew a man yet that wore a watch, but (he) went too fast, he was sure to gallop when he should have walked, and get to the

šud a wōkt, ən get tǎpend ev iz bant i nō taim, ən az fǎr gūin
intǎ Bǎr Pǎrlǎrz, a nivǎr sō mitš sens kum ęut a đǎr. Iv đǎ
getn a bit a jūǎr opǎ đǎr top lip ən a fǎin wǎrd ǎr tū i đǎr
meuǐ en kn tikǎl a bǎr mēid beut getin a kleut op said op jed,
đe ĩpinkn đǎr evribodi wen đǎr nōbdi ǎtp sēim taim. Om đęun
on ǎm spēšli if đǎr ǎts iz grēsi ən đǎr jūǎr ez ǎili ǎz ĩmidl
ǎv a kǎrtwīl, ən đǎr treuziz klatǎrt ǎđ bopm, ən đǎr dikiz ǎbeut
ĩkolǎr ǎv a mēri-gaud ən ǎz moni ringz on đǎr fingǎrz ǎz ǎd
mak a d'ǎg-tšǎn, o wudno giv a skōdin a krǎbz fǎr a wul kenil-
ful a sitš-lǎik welps.

II.

Kum wom tǎ 'đǎ tšildǎr ən mī (Waugh)¹.

1. Ov džust mendid ĩfǎiǎr wi a kob
Aud Swadl ǎz braut đǎ njū šūn
đǎrz sum nǎis bēkn kolǎps opob
ən a kwōrt a hēl posit ĩĩ ūn
ov braut đǎ top kwot dust nō
fer ĩrēns kumin đęun veri drī
ən ĩǎrĩstūǎn'z ǎz wǎit ǎz njū snō
kum wom tǎ đǎ tšildǎr en mī.

2. wen a put litl Sali tǎ bed
ū kraid koz ǎr fēđǎr wǎrnt đǎr
sō o kist t'litl ĩing ən o sed
đǎd bring ǎr a ribin froĩ fǎr
ən o giv ǎr ǎr dol en sum ragz
ən a nǎis liĩl wǎit kotn bō
ən o kist ǎr ǎgen; but ū sed
ǎz ū wantid tǎ kis đǎ ən ō.

3. ən Dik tū, ǎd sitš wǎrk wi im
ǎfūǎr o kǎd get im up stǎrz;
đǎ taud im đǎd bring im a drom

¹ The same poem may also to be found in Hargreaves p. 114.

end of his tether in no time, and as for going into Bar Parlours. I never saw much sense come out of there. If they get a bit of hair on the top of their lip and a fine word or two in their mouth and can tickle a bar-maid without getting a blow on the side of the head they think they are everybody when they're nobody at the same time. I'm down on them especially if their hats are greasy (if they use hair-oil) and their hair is as oily as the middle of a cartwheel, and their trousers are dirtied (ragged) at the bottom and their dickies (shirt fronts) about the colour of a marigold (yellow) and as many rings on their fingers as would make a dog-chain. I would not give a scalding of crabs (the smallest trifle) for a whole kennel-full of such like whelps.

II.

Come home to your children and me (Waugh).

1. I've just mended the fire with a cob,
Old Swaddle has brought your new shoes.
There are some nice bacon collops on the hob,
And a quart of ale posset in the oven:
I've brought your top-coat, do you know.
For the rain's coming down very persistently
And the hearth-stone's as white as new snow
Come home to your children and me.
2. When I put little Sally to bed,
She cried (be)cause here father wasn't there;
So I kissed the little thing and I said,
You'd bring her a ribbon from the fair;
And I gave her a doll and some rags,
And a nice little white cotton ball;
And I kissed her again; but she said
That she wanted to kiss you and all.
3. And Dick, too, I had such work with him
Before I could get him up stairs;
You told him, you'd bring him a drum,

ī sed wen īar sē-in iz prārz
den ī lūkt i mi fēs an i sed
ast bogarts tēn aud ə mi dad
an ī krāid til iz īn wār kwait red
ī laiks dī som (sum) wīl dez jon lad

4. ət lūŋg lēŋgþ o git əm lēid stil
ən āknt fōks fīt ət went bəi
so o əiərnt ȝ mi tlūaz rīt wīl
ən o aŋgd əm oþmēidn tə drəi
wen od mendid dī stokinz an šārts
o sit dēun tə nit i mi tšīar
ən o rēli did fīl rēidār ārt
mon om ōnli wen dēu ārtnə dīar.

5. ov ə drom an ə trompit fər Dik
ov ə jārd ə blēu ribin fər Sal
or a buk ful ə babz an ə stik
an som bakə an pəips fər misél
ov braut dī ə njū kap tə-dēi
but o ȝlāz bringz sumət fər dī
ov braut dī som kofi an tēi
iv dēl fīl i mi pokit, dēl sī.

6. God bles dī mi lās; ol gə wom
ən ol kis dī an tšildār ȝ rēund
da nōz əz wīarevər o rōm
om fēin tə get bak tə þaud grēund
okn dū wi ə krak ȝr ə dlās
okn dū wi ə bit əv ə sprī
but ov nō grēidli komfərt mi lās
eksep wi jon tšildār an dī.

He said when he was saying his prayers;
Then he looked in my face and he said:
Have the boggarts (evil spirits) taken hold of my dad?
And he cried till his eyes were quite red,
He likes you very well, does yon lad.

4. At the long length (= at last) I got them laid still
And I hearkened (to) the folk's feet that went by;
So I ironed all my clothes right well,
And I hanged them on the maiden to dry;
When I mended your stockings and shirts,
I sat down to knit in my chair;
And I really did feel rather hurt,
Man, I am lonely when you are not there.
 5. I' ve a drum and a trumpet for Dick;
I' ve a yard of blue ribbon for Sal,
I' ve a book full of pictures and a stick
And some tobacco and pipes for myself;
I' ve brought you some coffee and tea,
If you 'll feel in my pocket, you 'll see;
And I've brought you a new cap to-day
But I always bring something for thee (you).
 6. God bless you, my lass; I 'll go home,
And I 'll kiss you and the children all round;
You know that wherever I roam,
I'm glad to get back to old ground;
I can do with a crack (joke) over a glass,
I can do with a bit of a spree;
But I've no real comfort my lass,
Except with yon children and thee (you).
-

Index to Part. I (Phonology pp. 6—108).

Note: The words appear in their NE. forms except when there is no word in lit. English corresponding to the dialect word in form; they are then printed in italics in the ME. form. The numbers refer to the pages on which the words occur.

A.			
a 98.	already 13.	arrange 48.	bake 13, 103.
abide 7, 38.	also 87.	arrest 15, 90.	bald 91, 99.
able 27, 70, 84.	altar 48, 66.	arrow 6, 7, 11, 58,	<i>balk</i> 13, 56.
about 76, 84.	alter 99.	82, 87, 100.	<i>balke</i> 99.
above 7, 76.	always 7, 13, 87.	art 101.	ball 13, 66, 100.
abundance 91.	among 22, 107.	ash 14, 96.	balm 99.
accuse 45.	amount 44, 71, 88.	ashes 59.	ban 11, 58.
ache 26, 64.	amuse 45.	ask 12, 58.	band 13, 92.
acorn 11, 103.	an 98.	asked 92.	bank 13, 107.
acquaint 103.	ancestors 48.	ass 14, 108.	banner 12, 79.
acre 9, 13, 103.	ancient 90.	assume 95.	baptize 83.
adder 53, 59, 98.	anchor 107.	at 89.	barm 16, 68.
advantage 48.	and 92.	atone 40.	barrel 12, 58.
advice 39.	angel 48, 57, 69.	<i>attercoppe</i> 12, 58.	barrow 82, 87.
affair 47.	ankle 11, 107.	aught 49, 70, 89, 105.	basin 9, 27, 80, 95.
afford 94.	annoy 52.	aunt 48, 59, 89.	bastard 76.
afraid 8, 76, 92.	answer 87, 91.	author 48.	bath 11, 84.
after 11.	ant 88.	autumn 48, 66, 98.	bathe 13, 93.
again 55, 60.	any 12, 58.	avenue 81.	battle 9, 12, 81, 84,
against 55, 60, 76.	anybody 91.	avoid 52.	89.
<i>agate</i> 76.	appeal 30, 65.	aware 106.	be 31, 32
ago 104.	appear 34.	away 10.	beam 27, 71.
agree 32, 65, 76, 104.	appetite 39.	awkward 82, 92.	bean 27.
ale 26, 70, 100.	apple 83, 108.	awl 37.	bear (sb) 33, 36, 57,
all 13, 55, 66, 67, 99,	appoint 8, 52, 72.	axe 11.	84.
100.	apprentice 76.		bear (vb) 8, 36, 56,
allotments 76.	approve 43, 67.	B.	69, 71, 101.
allow 44, 71.	April 83.	baby 13.	beard 30, 91.
almond 81, 92, 98, 99.	apron 13, 98.	back 11.	beast 29, 72, 84, 90.
alms 88, 99.	arise 38.	backward 82, 87, 92	beasts 8.
alone 40, 73.	ark 7.	bacon 27, 64.	beat 27.
along 22, 62.	arm 101.	bag 104.	beaten 53, 59.
	arose 40, 67.	bailiff 85.	beauty 79.

because 82, 103.	bleach 97.	braces 95.	bush 96.
beds 94.	bleed 30.	branch 48, 61, 66,	bushel 9, 96.
bee 31.	blended 92.	96, 100.	busy 18, 60.
beech 30.	blew 51, 71.	brandnew 91.	but 84, 90.
beef 33, 72, 85.	blind 17, 92.	brass 11.	butcher 79, 96.
been 32.	<i>blinken</i> 18, 60.	brat 12, 58.	butter 23, 61.
before 8, 41, 42, 73,	blob 21.	brazen 9, 13, 98.	butterfly 76.
85.	blood 8, 54, 62, 84,	bread 27.	buy 38.
begin 104.	91, 99.	break 36, 64.	buzzard 24.
behave 108.	blot 21.	breakfast 36, 65.	
behind 92, 108.	blow 49, 50, 67.	breast, 53, 59.	C.
behold 41, 70.	blue 51, 71.	breath 34.	cabbage 97.
belch 96.	boast 40.	breathe 10, 34, 72, 92.	cage 27.
<i>belder</i> 15.	boat 40, 87, 90.	breeches 30.	cake 26.
belief 86.	bob 22, 61.	breed 30, 72.	calf 7, 13, 56, 66, 85,
believe 32.	bobbin 21.	brew 51, 68.	99, 102.
bellows 58, 95.	body 84, 91.	bride 38.	<i>calke</i> 13.
belong 22, 57.	<i>boglen</i> 22.	bridge 18, 97.	call 13, 66, 67, 100.
bench 96, 98.	boil (sb) 38.	bridle 91.	calm 99.
beneath 93, 98.	boil (vb) 8, 52, 74, 84.	bright 20, 57, 65,	<i>cammid</i> 12, 58.
<i>bent</i> 53, 59.	boisterous 52.	104.	can 14, 98, 102.
be-out 8,	bold 41, 56, 99.	brindle (up) 17.	candle 91.
bequeathe 103.	bolster 23, 56.	bring 100.	<i>cang</i> 12, 13, 58.
<i>bere-tūn</i> 16.	bolt 23, 56, 90, 99.	broach 40, 67.	cap 11.
berry 9, 100.	bone 40.	<i>brodden</i> 22.	care 101.
besom 95.	book 43, 62, 84.	broil 52.	careless 27.
better 15, 59, 89.	books 94.	brook 43, 103.	carry 12, 100.
between 98.	boot 90.	broom 42, 67.	cartridge 97.
beverage 15, 59, 77.	booth 93.	<i>brok</i> 21.	carve 16, 63, 101.
beyond 92.	born 42, 57, 66.	broken 9, 54, 61.	case 27.
Bible 39.	borrow 100.	brother 54, 93.	castle 11, 77.
bier 35, 57.	bosom 54, 88.	brought 50, 105.	catalogue 80.
big 60.	both 40, 93.	brow 7, 43.	catch 12, 58.
<i>biggen</i> 18.	bottle 81, 103.	brown 43.	cats 94.
<i>biker</i> 18.	bottom 21.	bulge 24, 61, 104.	cattle 79.
bile 38, 69.	bough 44, 71, 105.	bull 23.	caudle 14, 79.
bind 38.	bought 50, 70.	bullock 78.	cause 48.
<i>bir</i> 20, 63, 68.	boulder 25, 67.	<i>bunden</i> 92.	cease 30, 65.
bird 6, 17, 60, 101.	bound (adj) 92, 98.	bundle 24, 25, 62.	certain 9, 17, 63, 81,
<i>birlen</i> 20, 63, 68.	bound (vb) 23, 44, 71.	buoy 53, 72.	94.
bishop 96.	boundary 44.	<i>burlen</i> 25.	chafe 85.
bitch 97.	bow (sb) 50, 66.	burn 101.	chaffer 12, 58.
black 11.	bow (vb) 43.	burst 6, 11, 21, 60,	chain 47, 55, 60, 72,
bladder 91.	bower 44, 75.	90, 101.	96, 98.
blade 26, 70.	bowl 23, 70.	<i>burre</i> 25, 56, 63, 68.	chair 47.
blame 27, 99.	boy 52, 72.	bury 20, 59.	chalk 96.

champion 12, 48, 83.	cloud 43, 92, 103.	<i>costrelle</i> 22.	custard 76.
chance 14, 48, 59, 96.	clout 43.	couch 44, 71.	<i>cutten</i> + leg 89.
change 48, 96.	cloven 21.	cough 50.	<i>cwic</i> 17, 60.
chap 12, 58, 96.	club 84.	counsel 81, 95.	
chapman 12.	cluck 21.	count 44, 98.	D.
cheap 27, 53, 59, 83.	clue 51.	countess 77.	dab 13.
cheek 31.	<i>cnorre</i> 22.	county 44.	daft 11, 58.
cheer 34, 57.	coal 40, 41, 72, 73.	cow 43.	dairy 47, 69.
cheese 10, 95.	coat 8, 40, 41, 73.	coward 44, 76.	daisy 46, 71.
chemise 94.	<i>coc</i> 21.	cower 44, 75.	damage 12, 58, 88.
cherry 94.	cockle 103.	coy 52.	damn 98.
chest 18, 60, 90.	<i>cod</i> 21.	crab 11, 84.	dance 48, 69, 90.
chew 51.	coffin 85.	crabbed 92.	danger 48, 97.
chief 32, 65.	coin 52.	crack 11.	dank 107.
child 8, 17, 74, 92.	cold 8, 9, 91, 99, 102.	craft 85.	dare 14, 56, 90.
children 91, 101.	<i>colok</i> 22.	cramp 24.	dark 16, 63.
chime 37, 69.	<i>colop</i> 21.	cranky 13.	darn 16, 68.
chimney 81.	colour 80, 99.	<i>cratchinge</i> 12.	dash 14, 58, 96.
chit 19.	colt 23, 99.	creature 89, 102.	daughter 8, 50, 70,
choice 52.	column 93.	creep 9, 31, 72, 100,	90.
choir 34, 57.	comb 54, 84.	102.	day 46, 47, 66, 90.
chosen 21.	come 7, 9, 23, 24,	crept 7.	days 94.
chough 105.	61, 62, 88.	crib 17.	dazed 92.
Christ 38.	comfort 25, 61, 78,	<i>crikke</i> 19.	dead 27.
christen 7.	85.	crinkle 19, 92.	deaf 27, 71.
Christmas 76, 89.	comical 22, 61.	croft 21, 60.	deal 28, 90, 100.
<i>chuffe</i> 24.	coming 78.	crooked 103.	dear 33.
churn 16, 68.	commence 15.	crop 21.	death 27.
cinder 91.	company 76, 80, 88.	crow 50, 66.	debate 27.
clack 12.	complain 46.	crown 44, 100.	deceit 77.
clad 12.	conceit 22, 61.	cruel 45, 73, 79, 99	deceive 29, 64, 77.
claim 46, 71.	concern 17.	cruelty 79.	deed 35.
clay 46, 71.	conny 14.	crumb 55, 62.	deep 31, 65, 83.
clean 28, 53, 59, 71,	conquer 107.	crust 24, 90.	deer 33.
99, 103.	consequence 103.	crutch 24, 61.	defend 15, 85.
clear 34, 99.	constable 79.	cry 39.	defy 85.
clem 15.	converse 17.	crystal 76.	<i>degen</i> 15, 59.
<i>clemmen</i> 103.	convert 17, 22.	<i>culter</i> 25, 56, 67.	degree 33, 65.
climb 37, 84.	cook 43.	cup 84.	delay 46.
climbed 21.	cool 42, 100.	cup-board 23, 61, 83.	<i>delf</i> 85.
<i>clinken</i> 18, 60.	<i>cop</i> 21.	curd 101.	delight 39, 69, 77,
clock 103.	copper 21.	curds 24, 61.	99.
clod 21.	coral 22, 63.	curfew 82.	deliver 82.
close 41.	cord 22, 66.	curse 9.	delph 15.
cloth 103.	corn 22, 56, 68, 101.	curtain 80, 89, 107.	delve 15.
clothes 40, 94.	coroner 55, 62.	cushion 96, 103.	deny 39.

desert 17.	dreary 33.	elf 7, 13.	fault 90.
deserve 17.	drift 19.	<i>ellerne</i> 15.	favour 12, 13, 80.
desire 39.	drink 107.	<i>elsin</i> 16.	favoured 90.
destroy 52.	drive 86.	Empire 39, 75.	fear 35.
determine 17.	driven 17.	employ 52.	feast 29.
devil 31, 32, 60, 64, 67.	droop 44, 45, 71.	empty 78, 83.	feat 29, 65.
devour 44.	drought 43, 50.	end 92.	feature 29.
dew 51.	drown 98.	enemy 98.	February 84.
dialogue 80.	drum 25.	engine 10, 97.	feeble 70.
diamond 39.	drunk 23, 62.	England 99, 106.	feed 30, 65.
did 18.	drunken 107.	English 57.	feel 30.
<i>didder</i> 91.	dry 38, 74.	enough 55, 105, 106.	feet 30.
die 39, 90.	<i>dubben</i> 23.	enquire 34, 74.	fellow 15, 59, 87, 99.
<i>digge</i> 19.	duchess 26.	entice 82.	fent 15.
<i>dillen</i> 18.	duck 55.	equal 103.	<i>fente</i> 59.
din 18.	due 45.	escape 27, 77.	fetch 21, 97.
disappoint 52.	duke 45.	evening 35, 86,	<i>fetlen</i> 16.
disease 29.	dumb 84, 90.	event 77.	fetlock 89.
dish 20, 65, 96.	<i>dun</i> + ock 23.	ever 86.	fever 33, 86.
distrain 78.	dwarf 87, 105.	ewe 51, 68.	few 51, 68.
distress 78,	dwell 87.	exception 15.	fiddle 94.
disturb 78.	dwindle 87.	excuse 45, 95.	field 32, 64, 65, 92.
dive 38.	E.	<i>exen</i> 15.	fields 94.
diversion 17.	eager 29, 64.	eye 38, 74, 106.	fierce 33, 34, 56, 72.
do 42, 67.	eagle 29, 64.	F.	fifth 85.
does 94.	ear 30, 37, 101.	fable 27.	fig 104.
doff 85.	early 37, 64.	face 27, 64, 94.	fight 7, 9, 20, 90,
dole 100.	earnest 16, 37.	fail 46.	104.
done 54, 62.	earth 37.	faint 46.	figure 8.
<i>dongen</i> 62.	earth-bobs 7.	fair 47, 64.	fill 100.
doom 42.	ease 29, 47, 64, 70.	fake 47.	final 39, 69.
door 8, 43, 73.	east 28, 65.	fall 13, 66, 67, 100.	find 8, 37, 74, 85.
double 90.	Easter 28, 64, 89.	false 7, 13, 56, 66,	fine 38, 74.
doubt 44.	easy 10, 37, 95.	99.	finger 106.
dough 50, 105.	eat 36, 37.	falter 13, 56.	finish 78.
dove 55, 62, 86.	edge 10, 97.	fame 27.	fins 17.
down 43, 71.	<i>edisc</i> 15.	fan 11.	fir-bobs 68.
dozen 81.	eel 35.	far 14.	fire 39, 57, 75, 101.
dozing 21.	effect 15.	<i>farand</i> 12, 58.	first 20, 101.
drake 26.	egg-on 15.	fare 27, 68.	<i>firre</i> + <i>bobbe</i> 20.
drapery 77.	eight 46, 64.	farthing 10, 93, 106.	fish 9, 20, 58, 65, 96.
draught 49, 70, 105.	either 93.	fashion 13.	<i>fisken</i> + <i>gig</i> 18.
draw 48, 66.	elbow 84.	fast 11.	five 37, 85.
dread 34, 53, 59.	election 15, 59.	fat 12.	flea 53, 59, 105.
dream 27, 53, 59, 88.	eleven 77.	father 85, 91, 101.	flecked 16.
			fledge 97.

flesh 7, 17, 69, 70, 85, 96, 99.	frog 21.	gizzard 90.	<i>grig</i> 19.
<i>flinder</i> 18.	frozen 6, 9, 95.	glad 91, 99, 104.	grin 101.
flitch 97.	frumenty 101.	glass 14, 64, 104.	grind 37.
float 40.	<i>frumplen</i> 24.	<i>glenten</i> 104.	grip 19.
flood 54.	fruit 46, 67, 100.	<i>glistren</i> 19.	<i>griskin</i> 18.
floor 43, 57.	full 25, 55, 100.	gloom 42.	grizzled 92.
flour 44, 75, 99.	fun 104.	<i>glopnen</i> 21, 60.	groan 40.
flower 44, 49, 57, 67, 69, 99.	furniture 89, 102.	glory 41, 99, 104.	groat 40.
<i>flux</i> 24.	G.	glove 54, 86.	ground 23, 43, 55, 62, 92, 98.
fly 38, 74, 85, 106.	gab 84.	glue 45.	groundsel 87, 91.
fodder 54, 91.	<i>gabbe</i> 12.	gnarl 104.	grow 49, 67.
<i>fogge</i> 22, 61.	gad 12.	gnarled 98.	guess 16, 104.
foist 53.	gallon 12.	gnash 104.	gum 24, 63.
fold 41, 70, 92, 99.	gallop 78.	gnat 104.	gums 42.
folk 21, 23, 56, 67, 99.	gallows 12, 58, 99.	gnaw 48, 104.	H.
follow 21, 99.	game 8, 11, 58.	go 40, 41, 73	habit 8, 84.
fond 21.	gander 14.	goat 40, 67.	hair 35, 73.
food 42.	gape 24, 64.	<i>gob</i> 22.	half 13, 66, 85, 99.
fool 7, 43, 100.	garden 91.	gold 99, 104.	half-penny 78, 85.
foolish 85.	<i>garen</i> 14.	golden 41.	<i>halm</i> 13, 56, 66.
foot 85.	gate 26, 64.	gone 41.	halter 13.
for 22.	<i>gāte</i> 26, 64.	good 54.	ham 14.
foreign 81, 85, 98.	gather 91.	goose 42.	hammer 14, 88.
forget 104.	gathering 77.	gospel 83.	hamshackle 14.
forgive 104.	gaze 26, 70.	gossip 84.	hand 14, 92.
forgiven 22.	geese 30, 65, 94.	gown 44.	handsome 94.
fortune 22, 66, 68, 89, 102.	<i>zemer</i> 88.	grand 14, 92.	hanged 92.
forward 21, 82, 87, 92.	general 97.	grandfather 91.	haply 12.
fought 50, 57, 105.	OE. <i>gescyldru</i> 18.	grant 14, 48.	happy 9.
foul 43, 100.	get 90, 104.	grass 16, 56, 63, 104.	hard 101.
found 92.	giant 39, 81.	grave 26.	hare 27, 56.
fountain 44, 81.	gift 104.	graze 26.	hark 16, 63.
four 8, 49, 57, 73.	<i>giglot</i> 18.	grease 29.	harness 79.
fowl 44, 71.	<i>gildre</i> 18.	great 28, 64.	harp 101.
free 100.	gilly-flower 19, 60, 85.	<i>gredil</i> 101.	hat 11, 90.
freeze 31.	<i>gilte</i> 17.	greedy 35, 65.	hate 26, 64.
<i>fremede</i> 15, 59.	<i>gimbire</i> 18.	green 30, 98, 100.	hawthorn 48.
fret 53, 59.	gimlet 19.	<i>greiþiuc</i> 47, 71.	hay 46.
friar 34, 74.	<i>gingelinge</i> 19.	<i>Grendel</i> 17.	hazel 13.
friend 53.	gingerbread 19.	<i>grēten</i> 30.	he 31, 65.
frighten 20, 65.	girl 104.	grew 51, 68.	head 28.
	girt 16.	grey 46.	heal 28.
	give 104.	grief 33, 72.	healthy 10, 93.
	given 86.	grieve 33.	heap 28, 83.
		griffin 85.	

hearse 16, 63, 90.	houses 77.	join 10, 52, 97.	lade 26.
hearses 77.	housewife 87.	joint 52.	lady 26.
heart 16, 56, 68.	how 43.	joist 90.	laid 47, 66.
heat 28.	huckster 103.	jolly 85.	<i>laik</i> 47.
heath 28.	<i>hukken</i> 24.	joy 52, 72.	lain 47.
heaven 86.	hulk 56.	judge 26, 97.	lake 26.
Hebrew 51, 68, 82.	humble, 26, 62, 84,	juice 45, 67.	lamb 84, 99.
hedge 97.	88.	just 26, 61.	lammas 12.
<i>helder</i> 15.	hundred 23, 77, 91,	justice 26.	lamp 9, 48, 88.
<i>helf</i> 15.	101, 107.		land 99.
help 84.	hunter 9, 98.	K.	landlord 91, 92.
hemp 84.	<i>hurren</i> 25, 68.	<i>kaiken</i> 47.	language 79, 87, 106.
herb 84.	<i>hurst</i> 25, 68.	<i>kebben</i> 16.	lantern 13.
here 33, 56, 101.	hurt 20, 63, 68.	<i>kempe</i> 15.	lap 12.
<i>het</i> 53.	husband 84, 95.	<i>ker</i> 16, 63.	large 99.
<i>heter</i> 16.	hussy 55.	kernel 20, 56, 63,	lash 14, 69, 96.
hew 51.	huzzy 85.	101.	lass 12, 14, 64.
hide (vb) 38.	hymn 98.	kettle 77, 103.	last 12.
high 106.		key 46, 102.	lather 12, 58, 61, 93.
higher 16.	I.	kick (vb) 52.	laugh 49, 57.
himself 94.	ice 38.	kidney 91.	law 48, 66.
hinge 57, 97.	idle 38.	kill 9.	lay 47, 66.
<i>hipping</i> 19.	if 106.	kiln 18, 98, 102.	lead (sb) 53.
hire 39.	<i>impen</i> 18.	kind 38.	lead (vb) 28, 99.
history 80.	in 98.	kindle 91.	leaf 28.
hive 38.	inch 96.	king 106.	leak 15.
hoarse 41, 101.	incline 103.	<i>kippen</i> 18, 60.	lean 28.
<i>hobeler</i> 22.	increase 29, 103.	kitchen 96.	leap 28.
hold 8, 41.	Indian 102.	<i>kitelen</i> 19.	leapt 7.
hole 41, 72.	inhabit 108.	kiss 18, 94.	learn 16, 56, 63, 101.
holiday 54.	inside 94.	<i>kist</i> 17.	learning 106.
home 40, 61, 88.	instead 35, 60.	knave 26.	least 28, 71.
honest 98.	inward 92.	knead 35, 53, 59, 72,	leave 28.
hood 54.	inwards 17.	92, 102.	leg 8, 104.
hoof 42.	iron 39, 75, 98.	knee 98, 102.	legend 32, 65.
hook 43.	island 38.	knew 51.	lend 92.
hope 40, 67.	itch 106.	knife 103.	length 107.
hoped 92.		knob 84.	lest 53, 59, 90.
hopper 22.	J.	know, 50, 98, 103.	lesson 95.
horn 22, 63.	jail 97.	knowledge 97.	let 65, 90.
horse 101, 104.	jaundice 91.	knuckles 21, 25, 60.	level 9, 77, 99.
hospital 76, 95.	jealous 80.		library 39.
hot 41, 61.	Jew 51, 68.	L.	<i>lic-</i> 18.
hound 43.	jingle 104.	labour 13, 80, 84.	lice 38.
hour 44.	<i>jobarde</i> 22.	lad 6, 12, 92.	lie 38, 69.
house 43, 71, 107.	<i>jobbin</i> 22.	ladder 12, 58, 91.	lief 31, 64.

life 37, 69, 85.
lift 19.
liggen 17.
light 104.
lightening 20, 65.
likely 17.
line 38.
ling 18.
lion 39, 74.
liquor 103.
listen 89.
little 38, 60, 77, 99,
103.
liver 86.
load 41.
loaf 40.
lobster 83.
lodge 22.
loin 8, 72.
loiter 52.
lollen 21, 60
lompe 21.
London 23.
long 23, 62, 99, 106.
longer 15, 106.
look 43, 62.
looked 92.
lopren 22.
lord 42, 90.
loud 43.
louse 43.
love 9, 10, 23, 86, 99.
loves 94.
low 50, 70.
lug 24.

M.

mad 12, 58, 97
Maggie 97.
maiden 46.
maintain 46.
make 13, 103.
malt 13, 66.
man 9, 14, 57, 61,
88, 98.
mane 26.

mantle 13, 58.
many 6, 14, 78, 98.
maple 26, 64.
marble 101.
marry 100.
marvel 17.
Mary 100.
mason 27.
mass 12.
mast 12.
master 89.
matches 77.
matter 89.
may 46.
mayor 47.
me 31.
meadow 87.
meal 35, 36.
mean (adj) 28.
mean (vb) 28.
measure 81, 95.
meat 88.
meddle 16, 91.
medicine 8, 91.
meet 30.
memory 80.
mend 76.
menske-ful 96.
merchant 17, 81, 96.
mercy 17, 63.
merril 16.
merry 20, 100.
messenger 98.
metal 76.
mice 38, 74.
micale 18.
midge 97.
might 88.
mild 37.
mile 37, 74, 77.
military 107.
milk 9.
mill 18, 98, 100.
mind 38.
mine 37.
minute 81.

miracle 20.
mire 39, 75.
misery 77.
mission 95.
moan 40.
moist 52.
Monday 54, 61.
monk 107.
mood 42.
moon 42.
moor 43.
moppe 21.
more 8, 41, 57, 101.
morn 66.
morning 22.
morp 22, 63.
most 40, 41.
mot 21.
mother 42, 43, 88,
91, 101.
mould-warp 8.
mountain 44, 88, 98,
107.
mourn 25.
mouth 10, 88, 93.
mouse 43, 94.
move 43, 67.
mow 67.
much 18, 60, 88.
muck 24, 25.
mum 24.
murder 20, 25, 94.
muscle 103.
musel 61.
mushroom 96.
music 45, 80.
mustard 76.
muzzle 24.
my 88.
myself 94.

N.

nail 46.
naked 26.
name 26, 70, 88, 97.
narrow 12, 58.

nation 95.
nature 7, 27, 81, 89,
102.
natural 78.
naughty 49, 105.
nay 47.
near 30.
nearer 16.
neb 6, 15.
need 32, 72.
needle 9, 34, 35, 91,
97.
neigh 46.
neither 93.
nephew 16, 82.
nerves 17.
nesshe 6, 15, 17, 70.
nest 90.
new 51, 68.
nice 38, 74.
niece 32.
nifle 19, 60.
nigard 18.
night 7, 20, 65, 97,
104.
nimble 84.
nine 38, 106.
nip 19.
nobody 78, 91.
noise 52, 74, 97.
nook 103.
noon 42.
Northwich 97.
nose 40.
nothing 93, 107.
notice 67.
now 43, 50, 97.
nuisance 46.

O.

oak 40, 103.
oats 40, 41, 62.
obedient 33, 64.
obey 46, 71, 78.
observe 78.
odd 21.

of 85.
 offal 21.
 offer 8, 85.
 often 89.
 oil 52.
 ointment 52.
 old 8, 41, 92.
 once 41, 90.
 one 41.
 open 21, 54, 61, 98.
 opened 92.
 opinion 78.
 orange 81, 97.
 orchard 22.
ort 22, 56, 66.
ossen 22, 61.
 ostrich 97.
 other 54, 61.
 ounce 44.
 our 8, 101.
 out 43.
 oven 86, 98.
 over 42, 73, 86.
 owl 43.
 owlet 55.
 own, 50, 66.
 oyster 52.

P.

pain 47.
 paint 47.
 pair 47, 69.
 palace 79.
 palm 13.
 paper 13, 83.
 parish 12, 58.
 particular 80.
 partridge 89.
paschen 14, 69.
 passed 92.
 passenger 98.
 passion 13.
 pasture 81, 89.
 path 83, 93.
 patient 95.
 pay 46.

pea 94.
 peace 29, 47, 83.
 pear 36, 57, 69, 71.
 pebble 83.
 peg 104.
 penny 83, 98.
 pennyworth 78, 82, 87.
 pens 94.
 people 33, 72.
 perch 8, 16.
 pew 46.
 pheasant 53, 59, 90, 95, 101.
 philosopher 101.
 pick 7.
 pickles 103.
 picture 102.
 piece 32.
 pier 33, 72.
pikin 19.
 pint 39, 69.
 pipe 37.
pismire 19.
 piss-a-bed 19.
 place 27, 99.
 plain 47, 66.
 plank 14, 61.
 play 46, 83, 99.
 plead 29, 65.
 please 29, 53, 55, 60, 72, 95.
 pleasure 53, 59, 95.
plecke 16.
 plenty 79.
 plough 44, 105.
 plum 55.
 plump 24, 62.
 point 52.
 poison 52.
 poll 23, 70.
 pool 42.
 poor 43, 73, 86.
 poplar 83.
 posset 22.
 pot 83.

potato 89.
 pound 9, 23, 43, 83.
 powder 91.
 power 44, 75.
 praise 95.
 pray 47.
 preach 29, 64, 97.
 preserve 17.
 price 39, 69, 100.
 pride 38, 69.
 priest 100.
 primrose 19.
 principal 76.
 prison 95.
 private 39.
 promise 80.
 proud 83.
 prove 42.
 provender 22.
 prudence 45.
 puck 55, 62.
 pudding 83.
 puff 24.
puffen 61.
 pull 25, 67.
 punch 24.
 punish 26, 62, 78.
 pure 83.
 purge 20, 63, 68.
 purple 77, 83, 101.
 pursue 46.
 put 83, 90.

Q.

quake 103.
 quality 103.
 qualmish 103.
 quarrelling 77.
 quarter 103.
 queen 98, 103.
 question 102, 103.
 quick 103.
 quiet 38, 103.
 quilt 103.
 quire 34, 74.

R.

radish 78.
 rafter 12, 58.
 rag 12, 103.
 rail 47.
 rain 46, 100.
 raisin 80.
 ram 14, 57, 61, 38.
 rank 14, 57.
 rash 14.
 raspberry 83.
 raven 26, 70.
 raw 48, 66.
 reach 28.
 read 100.
 ready 53, 59.
 reason 29, 53, 70, 72, 100.
 receipt 29.
 receive 29, 33, 72.
 red 53.
 refuse 45, 95.
 regular 80.
 rehearse 108.
 rein 47.
 rejoice 52.
 religion 97.
 require 103.
 resign 39.
 rib 84.
 ribbon 19.
 rich 100.
 riddle 35, 60, 77, 94.
 ride 37, 100.
 ridge 97.
 rift 18.
rigge 18.
 right 20, 65, 104.
rinele 18.
 ring 100, 106.
rippen 18.
 riven 18.
 river 79, 86, 100.
 road 40, 42.
 roar 41.
 roast 41, 73, 75.

rochet 22.	scum 55, 62.	shove 55, 62, 86.	snake 26.
<i>roggen</i> 21.	<i>scunneren</i> 24.	shred 53.	<i>snekke</i> 16.
<i>roket</i> 61.	scurf 23, 101, 103.	shrew 51, 68.	sniff 90.
Roman 81.	scythe 37.	shroud 43, 100.	<i>snizen</i> 19.
roof 42, 100.	sea 28, 64, 65.	shunt 24.	snout 98.
room 9, 45, 88, 100.	seal 30, 72.	shut 24, 25, 61, 96.	snow 50, 67, 98.
root 42, 100.	seam 28.	shuttle 20, 25.	so 40, 87.
<i>rop</i> 21.	search 17.	<i>sib</i> 18.	soap 40, 41.
rose 40, 73.	season 29.	sick 32, 60.	soften 89.
rough 55, 57, 105.	sedge 97.	sickle 103.	soil 8, 52, 72.
round 8, 44, 98, 100.	see 31.	side 37.	sold 41, 70.
rout 44.	seed 35, 65.	sight 20, 104.	soldier 102.
row (vb) 49, 67.	seek 30, 97.	sign 38.	sole 55, 70.
rub 8.	seemed 92.	silent 39.	solid 92.
ruck 24.	seize 29.	silly 77, 78.	some 25.
<i>ruckelen</i> 24.	separate 76.	simple 9, 19, 83, 88.	somebody 23, 25, 61,
rude 45.	September 83.	since 18.	78, 91.
rue 51.	<i>serke</i> 16.	<i>sind</i> 19.	somewhat 23, 82.
ruin 8, 73.	sermon 17.	sing 9, 18.	song 23.
rule 51.	serpent 17.	singer 106.	soon 42.
rupture 102.	servant 17, 81.	sink 107.	soot 43.
rye 38.	serve 17, 101.	<i>sissen</i> 19.	sop 21.
	seven 86.	sixth 6, 18.	sore 41.
S.	shade 26, 70.	size 95.	sorrow 100.
safe 49, 57, 64.	shadow 9, 82, 87, 96.	sker 16, 68.	sorry 41.
said 55, 60.	shame 13.	sky 39.	sought 50.
sail 46.	shanks 21.	slash 14, 69.	soul 50, 70, 100.
salt 13, 94.	sharp 84, 101.	slaughter 49, 105.	south 43.
same 26.	shear 36, 57.	sledge 16.	sow 44, 50, 71.
sand 94.	sheep 34.	sleep 34, 72, 99.	spade 26.
sausage 95, 98.	sheet 32, 65.	sleeve 32, 72.	span 14.
savage 49, 57, 59,	sheriff 85.	<i>slide</i> 18.	spare 27.
79.	shift 18.	slink 18.	sparrow 83.
save 49, 57, 71.	shilling 7, 8, 107.	slough 57, 105.	speak 36, 64, 83, 94.
saw 48.	shine 37.	slow 50, 66.	spear 36.
say 46.	shipp 96.	slut 24 61.	special 33, 64, 79,
says 55, 60.	ships 9, 94.	slutch 24.	95.
scab 103.	shire 39, 74.	small 13.	speech 35, 64.
scarce 103.	shirt 20.	small-pox 95.	speed 30, 72.
school 42.	shoe 42.	smash 14.	spew 51, 68.
<i>schocken</i> 22.	shone 41.	smell (vb) 88.	spider 94.
scissors 19, 95.	short 96.	smithy 18.	<i>spink</i> 18.
<i>scoperell</i> 21.	should 99.	smoke (sb) 40.	spirit 19, 20, 59, 83.
Scripture 102.	shoulder 25, 56, 60.	smooth 42, 93.	spite 38.
<i>scrog</i> 22.	show 51.	smother 88.	<i>spitel</i> 18.
scruff 90.	shower 44, 75.	smothered 92.	spoil 52.

spoken 54.
 spoon 42, 73.
 spread 28, 100.
 squire 39, 74.
 stair 89.
 stairs 47, 57, 69.
 stand 14.
 staple 26.
 star 101.
 stare 27, 68.
 start 16, 63.
 starve 16.
 station 95.
 steak 47.
 steal 35, 36, 100.
 steam 28.
 steel 34.
 steep 28, 65.
 steeple 32, 65.
 stile 38, 69.
 stink 9, 107.
 stir 20.
 stirk 20.
 stood 54, 62.
 stool 42, 100.
 stone 40, 94.
 stoop 45.
 strange 48, 61, 97, 98.
 stranger 97.
 straw 89.
 stream 28.
 street 34, 100.
 strength 107.
 strife 38, 85, 100.
 strike 37.
 strive 38.
 strong 23, 106.
 stronger 106.
 struck 22.
 stubble 24, 77.
 study 26, 61.
 stump 25.
 succeed 33.
 such 6, 18, 87.
 suck 55.

sudden 81.
 suet 8, 73.
 sugar 45, 62, 95.
 suit 46, 67.
 sum 24, 62.
 sup 55.
 sure 101.
 swaddle 94.
 swallow (vb) 82.
 swallowing 106.
 swan 14.
 swap 87.
 swear 8, 9, 36.
 sweat 28, 61.
 sweet 30, 77, 87.
 swelten 87.
 swilling 106.
 swim 88.
 swine 37.
 sword 87.
 sworn 42.
 swot 87.
 syllable 19.
 syrup 19, 59, 78.

T.

take 9, 13, 103.
 tale 26, 70, 89, 100.
 talk 13, 99.
 taper 26.
 tarried 92.
 teach 28, 64.
 tear (sb) 30.
 tear (vb) 36.
 teeth 30.
 tell 100.
 tempt 83.
 tenten 15, 16.
 terrible 16, 63.
 terrified 104.
 that 93.
 thaw 48, 66, 92.
 theatre 8, 32, 72, 101.
 thee 31, 93.
 their 47, 69, 93.

then 93.
 there 93.
þerf 16.
 they 47, 93.
 thief 31, 65, 85, 92.
 thimble 38, 60, 84.
 thine 93.
 thing 106.
 think 18.
 third 18, 20.
 thirty 20, 63.
 this 10, 93.
 thong 87, 93.
 thorn 22, 68, 92.
 those 40, 41, 93.
 thou 44, 93.
 though 105.
 thought 50, 105.
 thousand 44, 92.
 thread 34.
 threat 53.
 thrive 39, 69.
 throat 40.
 throng 23.
 through 23, 105.
 throstle 21, 89.
 throw 50.
 thrush 25, 58, 61.
 thumb 55, 84, 88, 92.
 thunder 7, 10, 23, 92.
 thwack 93.
 thwart 93.
 thwittle 19.
þwyten 93.
 tick 19.
 tickle 19.
 tie 32, 38, 74.
tiffen 90.
 tiger 39.
 tile 38, 69.
 timber 84.
 time 37, 88, 89.
tīnen 38, 65.
 tip 19.
tit 19.

tithe 38.
titten 19.
 toad 41.
 toast 41.
 tobacco 82.
 toddle 21.
 toe 40.
 toil (vb) 52.
 token 54.
 told 41.
 toll 23, 55.
 tomb 45.
 to-morrow 100.
 tongs 23.
 tongue 89.
 too 42.
 took 43.
 tool 42.
 tooth 42, 73, 93.
 tough 50, 57, 105.
 toward 82, 92.
 towel 81.
 tower 44, 89, 101.
 town 8, 9, 44, 89.
 toy 53.
 trample 14.
 travel 81.
 tread 35, 36, 72.
 treasure 80, 95.
 treat 29, 47, 64.
 tree 100.
 tremble 19, 84.
 trestle 16.
trindil 18.
trollin 21.
 trough 50, 57, 105.
 truce 95.
 trumpet 25.
 trundle 24, 91.
 truth 51, 71, 93.
 tumble 84.
 tune 102.
tunne 23.
 twelve 85.
 twine 87.
 twinkle 87, 103.

twinling 18.
twist 87.
twitter 19.
two 87.
two-pence 54, 62.
tyrant 90.

U.

umpire 88, 98.
uncle 107.
up 25.
upwards 83.
use 45, 67, 95.

V.

valley 12.
value 12, 81.
vane 85.
vat 85.
veal 30, 72.
veil 47.
vellum 80.
venom 80.
venture 15, 102.
verse 86.
very 10, 86, 100.
vetch 19, 86.
vice 39.
victory 80.
victuals 81.
violent 39.
virtue 81, 86.
vixen 85.
voice 52, 86, 94.
volume 22.
voyage 86.

W.

wade 26.
wages 86.
wait 47, 64, 86.

waken 13, 14.
walk 99, 103.
walten 13.
war 14, 86.
warm 14.
warrant 86.
was 86.
wash 7, 14, 17, 59,
69, 70, 96.
watch 6, 14.
water 26, 64, 86, 89.
way 46.
we 31, 65.
weak 47.
wear 36.
weary 33, 56, 71.
weather 91.
weather-cock 85.
weave 36.
wedge 97.
weed 31.
week 86.
weft 15.
weight 46, 64, 104.
well 15.
wench 6, 15, 59, 96.
were 35, 57, 68.
what 88.
wheat 28.
wheel 31.
when 88.
where 35, 68, 88.
which 88.
while 37.
whimberry 54, 60.
whirl 20.
whisper 83.
whistle 88, 89.
white 38, 69, 88.
whittle 93
Whitstāre 54.

Whitsunday 54, 60,
90.
who 42, 67, 87.
whole 40, 62, 100.
whom 42, 87.
whose 42, 87.
wide 38.
widow 87.
wield 15.
wife 8, 37, 85.
wife's 94.
wikir 19.
wild 8, 37.
willow 82, 87, 99.
wimbil 19.
wimplen 18.
wind 37.
windelstrē 18.
windwunge 18.
wine 10, 38, 86, 98.
winter 18, 89.
wippen 19.
wire 39, 75.
wise 38, 69, 95.
wish 10, 20, 38, 65,
86, 96.
wisk 19.
with 93.
wiðer 19.
wiði 18.
without 44.
wives 10, 86.
wizard 19, 92.
wolf's 94.
womb 42, 67.
wonder 23, 91.
wood 86.
word 86, 92, 101.
work (sb) 16, 101.
work (vb) 7, 20, 25,
56, 63, 68.

working 106.
world 16.
worm 20, 68.
worry 20, 25, 59, 63.
worse 7, 14, 101.
worsted 101.
worth 101.
would 86, 99.
wound (sb) 45.
wound (vb) 92.
woven 54.
wrap 86.
wrechen 86.
wrestle 87.
wring 87.
write 37, 87, 100.
writhe 87.
wripen 87.
wrong 23.
wunien 23.

Y.

yard 105.
ye 105.
yea 105.
year 105.
yell 105.
yellow 8, 87, 105.
yesterday 105.
yet 8, 106.
yew 51, 68.
yield 32, 65, 105.
yolk 23, 67, 99.
yon 106.
yonder 21, 60.
you 49.
young 106.
your 49, 73, 106.

Z.

zounds 10.

Table of Contents.

	Page
Preface	III
List of Works consulted with Abbreviations used	IV
Map	V
Introduction	1

Part I: Phonology.

Chapter I. Sounds of the Dialect	6
---	---

THE SOUNDS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

Chapter II. The Vowels in Accented Syllables	11
---	----

Section I. The Vowels considered singly:

Short Vowels	11
------------------------	----

Long Vowels	26
-----------------------	----

Diphthongs	46
----------------------	----

Section II. The Shortening in the Oldham Dialect of ME.

Long Vowels and Diphthongs	53
--------------------------------------	----

Section III. Summary of the ME. Vowels in Combination	55
---	----

Appendix to Chapter II.

Sources of the Oldham Vowels:

I. Short Vowels	58
---------------------------	----

II. Long Vowels	63
---------------------------	----

III. Diphthongs	69
---------------------------	----

IV. Triphthongs	74
---------------------------	----

Chapter III. The Vowels in Unaccented Syllables:	
---	--

Short Vowels	76
------------------------	----

Long Vowels	79
-----------------------	----

Diphthongs	81
----------------------	----

Weak Syllables	82
--------------------------	----

Chapter IV. The Consonants:	
------------------------------------	--

I. Labials	83
----------------------	----

II. Dentals	89
-----------------------	----

III. Gutturals	102
--------------------------	-----

IV. Aspirate	107
------------------------	-----

Part II: Accidence.

	Page
Chapter V. Nouns:	
I. Formation of the Plural	109
II. Formation of the Genitive	110
Chapter VI. Adjectives	111
Chapter VII. The Article	111
Chapter VIII. Pronouns:	
1. Personal	112
2. Possessive	113
3. Reflexive	114
4. Demonstrative	114
5. Interrogative	114
6. Relative	114
7. Indefinite	115
Chapter IX. Numerals	115
Chapter X. Verbs:	
I. Formation of Tenses	115
A. Strong Verbs	115
B. Weak Verbs	119
II. Verbal Endings	121
Anomalous Verbs	122
Appendix. Adverbs	130
Prepositions	131
Conjunctions	131
Specimens	132
Index to Part I (Phonology)	138
Table of Contents	149

Lebenslauf.

Am 16. März 1867 wurde ich, Karl Georg Schilling, evangelischer Konfession, als Sohn des Schuldirektors Georg Wilhelm Schilling zu Altrincham in der Grafschaft Cheshire, England, geboren. Bis zu meinem 15. Jahre besuchte ich meines Vaters Schule, später ging ich nach der Manchester Grammar School. Im Jahre 1884 bezog ich das Aberystwyth College der Universität Wales und wurde im Jahre 1886 an der Universität London immatrikuliert. Im Jahre 1902 wurde ich als Lektor des Englischen an der Universität Giessen bestellt, wo ich zur Zeit tätig bin. Zu gleicher Zeit habe ich vom Oktober 1902 bis zum August 1905 an der Universität Giessen studiert. Vorlesungen habe ich während meiner Studienzeit besucht bei den verehrten Professoren und Dozenten Prof. Dr. O. Behaghel, Prof. Dr. Behrens, Prof. Dr. W. Horn, Lektor Goetschy und Lektor Thomas. Ihnen allen spreche ich an dieser Stelle meinen Dank aus. Zu ganz besonderem Dank bin ich Herrn Prof. Dr. W. Horn verpflichtet, der mich zu meiner Dissertation angeregt und mir stets mit seinem Rat zur Seite gestanden hat.



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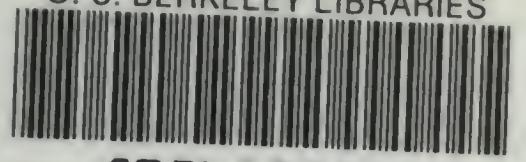
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